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ABSTRACT

This is the eighth volume in a continuing series of papers on the teaching of English as a second language. The 14 papers included here represent work in progress and cover a wide range of topics. In the first paper, E. Hatch summarizes recent studies in language switching and mixing. Specific ESL teaching techniques are suggested in articles by M. Celce-Murcia, J. Povey, L. McIntosh, and J. Heaton. J. D. Bowen discusses ways of measuring language dominance in bilinguals. The first three years of the Culver City, California, Spanish Immersion Program are described by A. D. Cohen and S. M. Lebach, and R. D. Wilson writes about teacher attitudes toward minority students. Some evidence for the predictive validity of the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination is provided by E. Rand. Training programs for ESL teachers are described in papers by R. N. Campbell and Y. A. El-Ezabi. T. P. Gorman uses the UCLA English Language Policy Survey of Jordan as a basis for discussing a variety of approaches to the study of educational language policy in developing nations. The achievements and long-term goals of the English Language Institute of the American University in Cairo are discussed by C. H. Prator. The final paper, by Y. Akai, deals with problems in college-level English instruction in Japan. (PMP)

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WORKPAPERS

in Teaching English as a Second Language

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PREFACE AND DEDICATION

The Staff of the ESL Section of the Department of English have submitted these papers to give an indication of work-in-progress; and they would welcome comments or suggestions with regard to them. This volume also includes contributions by two Visiting Scholars, Dr. Yehia A. El-Ezabi and Dr. Yasumitsu Akai, who have spent the academic year with us.

Taken as a whole, we trust that the eighth issue of the Workpapers in TESL will serve to reflect the range of interests -- theoretical and practical, local and international -- that the Section is attempting to concern itself with.

This balance of interests is one that Professor Clifford H. Prator, under whose guidance the Section was established and has developed, has always sought in his own work and encouraged in that of others. With respect and affection, his colleagues would like to mark the occasion of his handing over the responsibilities as head of the ESL Section to Professor Russell N. Campbell, by dedicating this volume of the Workpapers in TESL to him.

T. P. Gorman
Editor

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STUDIES IN LANGUAGE SWITCHING AND MIXING*

Evelyn Hatch

Almost everyone who has grown up in a bilingual community has an emotional attachment to the topic of language mixing and switching; we all find the language behavior of our families interesting. Perhaps that explains our reactions to teachers in the Southwest who often describe their students as: "They can't speak English and they can't speak Spanish either. They just mix everything up. They take one word from here and another from there and think it makes sense. You know, they just don't speak any language at all." The capacity of bilinguals to switch rapidly and fluently from one language to another in the middle of a conversation or in the middle of a sentence is, of course, not valued by everyone. Some deny that mixing exists at all. One of my professors once assured me that children are able to switch from one language to another with ease on social cue but that they do not mix languages. This gave me two choices in describing the language behavior of my family: either we didn't really do what I thought we did or we were all alingual. Once I started looking at the literature--and it is a vast literature--I found a third choice. "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence" (Weinreich, 1953, 73). So the problem might be that we were not "ideal" types.

All of this is exaggeration, of course, but not too far afield from the attitude of many educators toward language mixing. Recent studies of language mixing raise doubts as to the validity of describing mixers as victims of language interference. But what is there to be said about the system of language mixing? What triggers switching and is there any way to predict where and when mixing will occur? As Labov (1971) says, it can't really be that the systems are just mixed together like fruit salad. In this paper I will try to bring together what a number of writers have had to say about these questions and show you some of the data from these studies as well as my own.

While it might be best to start by drawing a distinction between switching and mixing, there really is no sharp distinction to be drawn; rather it's a continuum. This has led some writers to use "switching" for both. I think the difference, if there really is one, will come clear once the data has been presented.

Instead, I will begin with a distinction which Oksaar (1972) used in classifying her data on Swedish-Estonian code switching: external and internal switching. The first--external--has to do with all the social factors which influence switching. The second--internal--are language factors, fluency of the speaker, and his ability to use various emotive devices.

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*This paper was prepared for delivery at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in August-September, 1973.

External Switching

Ferguson in his study of diglossia (1959) pointed out that in multilingual communities each language is assigned a role or function and language choice is then determined by social factors. Different languages may be used for school vs. home, ceremonial vs. family, business vs. private talk. Blom & Gumperz (1972) and Susan Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1967) have cited setting, interlocutor, and topic as the major variables for external switching.

There are many examples of language switching due to these variables. Barber in his study of a trilingual community (1973) showed setting was important for language choice: Yaqui was used at ceremonial meetings, English and Spanish were used at the store, and all three were used at work. Uyekubo, in her study of Japanese-English bilinguals (1972), showed frequent switching to accommodate the interlocutor. When monolinguals entered a conversation, the language was switched and when they left, the language again switched. The children in her study also practiced language courtesy, speaking with their grandmother in Japanese even though she understood English.

But switching to the speech of the interlocutor is not always predictable. Psychological factors are also involved. Rayfield (1970) in his study of the Yiddish-English bilingual community in Santa Monica, shows a monolingual trying to force a language switch without success:

> (A and C are bilinguals; B is a monolingual Yiddish speaker.)
> A: Lieberman said she'd come, but we won't wait.
> B: Lomir anfangen, darling, lomir anfangen. (Let's begin.)
> C: Yes, let's begin.
> (The conversation continues entirely in English in spite of B.)

And despite repeated prompting in Japanese by Ms. Uyekubo, Ken refused to respond in Japanese in the following passage:

> E: Kore nani? (What's this?)
> K: Hydrant. I have another one of those, I think.
> E: Kore dare? Dare deshoo? Shitteru? Ken, shitteru? (Who's this? I wonder who it is? Do you know? Ken, do you know?)
> K: Aah, he's he aaa hurt the mother. From beginning to beginning.,in the beginning, the mother they trade, they buried it. That's what happened.
> E: Ken, kore yomenai no? (Ken, can't you read this?)
> K:. I can't read...a little words....
> E: Chotto yon'de choodai. (Read a little for me.)
> K: I can't read that dood.

But when his sister appeared on the scene and E began to talk to her, jealousy sparked a quick switch to Japanese.

I also have this exchange between two of my more obstinate neighbors both of whom speak fluent French but refuse to use it, using their first languages instead even though neither speaks the first language of the other:

A: Hamdella ʕal salama. (Welcome back)
B: Thanks.
A: Wahashtena. (We missed you.)
B: We were on vacation. To San Francisco.
A: San Francisco. Izzay? Bilʔarabiyya? (How? By car?)
B: No, we flew up.

I have a better example but there's no way to show it to you except by videotape (which I don't have). At the last meeting of our sign class, a visitor appeared. Using finger-spelling, she roundly castigated our teacher for teaching us "a street language" like sign. (American Sign does not follow English syntax while finger spelling is simply, or not so simply, spelling out English with the hands.) The argument was heated, to say the least, without either deaf person ever changing to the other's system. Obviously, there are many reasons for not switching to the language of the interlocutor. Only an interaction of many factors can account for such instances as this supper-table dialogue collected by Barber where the mother and wife consistently speak Yaqui and the man speaks Spanish in return:

Man: Tienen leche, no? (They have milk in them, don't they?)
Wife: Hewi. (Yes.)
Mother: Munim waata? (You want some beans?)
Man: Sí.

Topic can also trigger language switching. Talk about food is usually in Danish in my family, as in this exchange:

M: Nu...vi skal har kaffe. (Now...we'll have coffee.)
E: Tak, I just want to finish this letter first. (Thanks....)
D: (Entering with 2 1/2 year old Kaj) Hey, ma, where's the hedge clippers?
K: Where Tante E?
M: They're right where you left them last.
E: Here, Kaj. Kom sa...op, op, op. (Come...up, up, up.)
Vil du ikke har kaffe, D? (Won't you have coffee, D?)
D: Ja, tak. (Yes, thanks. Kaj echoes the "Ja, tak.")
E: Er du tørstig, lille Kaj? (Are you thirsty, little Kaj?)
M: Gaa vasker din-- (interrupted by D.)
D: (Opening frig) I don't know where I put them. What's this! Aeblekager? (applecake)

Repeated cuing in English at the dinner table can, however, force a switch to English.

Some subjects switch fairly consistently by topic; others do not. In her study, Uyekubo found that her subjects talked about personal topics (children, illnesses, fears, etc.) in Japanese and used English for non-personal topics (academic, professional, political topics, etc.). And, in discussing personal topics, if the values expressed were not typically Japanese, subjects switched to English. For example, when talking about their dissatisfaction with life or about women's lib, bilingual women switched to English.

In other cases, it is very difficult to know what it is that cues switching. Of course that doesn't stop us from guessing. Rayfield gives an example of a woman, complimented on her stole, saying, "Is warm. Is wool. Dos hot meyn shvester gemakht (my sister made it) a long, long time ago." Or, when recounting his life, another subject said "...affected di leber, liver cirrhosis, zey trinkn a quart of whiskey in one day. Yes, the schnapps affected di leber, di leber is an arsenal fun blood, the liver supplies blood...." Rayfield suggests the first speaker's mention of family calls for a switch to Yiddish and, in the second, perhaps the speaker identifies physiology with English and liver problems with Yiddish. But it's not really all that clear.

In order to account for such rapid mixing one has to turn to Oksaar's second category: internal switching. This includes the fluency of the speaker in each language as well as his ability to use a set of rhetorical devices to establish tone, and the structure of the languages themselves.

Internal Switching

Language Structure. From the structure of language, can we predict where a switch will occur or where mixing will take place? Obviously it is easier, in the sense that syntax does not have to be adapted, to switch at major boundaries--sentence boundaries, major clause breaks, or at the beginning of phrases. Most switching does follow this pattern.

Single word replacement should also occur frequently if it can be achieved without forcing syntactic changes. A few generalizations have also been made about which words occur most frequently in single word replacement. Lance, in his study of Spanish-English bilinguals (1969) has suggested that words for which no ready equivalent exist are very frequently mixed:

DL Sabes componer flats? (Do you know how to fix flat tires?)
DL Y luego la meringue la hago con...los egg whites. (And then the meringue is made with egg whites.)
AU Kore Betty Crocker. (This is Betty Crocker.)
AU That's what really disgusted me at the omiai. (Meeting of prospective bride and groom)
AU He's one of the top three buchoos. (A kind of manager)
EH Vil du ... pickles? (Will you ... pickles?)

Holm, Holm, & Spolsky (1973), studying the speech of young Navajo children found that, despite the long-standing notion that Navajos do not mix languages and borrow very few words from English, the children did mix and frequently used English vocabulary items while speaking Navajo. Some of the words the children definitely knew and used in Navajo as well; others, such as *pickle*, *math*, and *raccoon*, had no equivalent in Navajo.

However, even inserting one word can force changes elsewhere in the sentence and morphological integration, as Oksaar showed in her Swedish-Estonian study, is a common phenomenon. In the Navajo study, for example, enclitics were frequently attached to English words: *shi*little sister, *shi*pant (shi = my), dormitory*goo* (towards), school*di* (at), book*ish* (Is it a book?), record player*yee* (the late, or no longer working, record player).

In Japanese there are a set of verbs which are constructed from a noun + *suru* (to do): benkyoo (studying) + suru = to study, ryokoo (travels) + suru = to travel. When English verbs were mixed as single words into Japanese, they always followed this pattern. They were always followed by an inflected form of *suru*: Tada moo *memorize suru* bakkai dakara. Soo yo, yubi ga koo yuri furi ni *touch shite*.

Similarly when an English adjective was inserted into a Japanese sentence, the na marker was placed between it and the Japanese noun: *intellectual na* benkyoo, *cool na* nominomo. When both adj and noun were English, the *na* was omitted: Anoo, *Japanese company* wa yasumanai yo.

It has been suggested that this kind of syntactic modification is necessary only when mixing dissimilar languages like Navajo and English or Japanese and English. But, in fact, this doesn't seem to be the case. It would be interesting to know what kinds of psychological processes make it possible or even necessary for a Spanish speaker to give gender marking to English nouns as if they were the Spanish equivalent that has been replaced. Cornejo (1973) in his study of five-year-old bilinguals found that they used the Spanish article system with English nouns. And they marked the English noun as though it were its Spanish equivalent:

una bike (una bicicleta)
el dress (el vestido)
las dishes (las vasijas - Texan Spanish)
al shopping center (al centro)

The structure of the languages can, then, give us some information about where switching is most likely to occur but, again, not exact information.

Language Fluency. Certainly language fluency and language development also play a role in explaining internal mixing. In studies of children learning two languages simultaneously, mixing usually does appear. Imedadze (1966), describing the language of a child learning Russian and Georgian simultaneously pointed out that "until the 20th month the child would utter translation equivalents together in one sentence (if she knew both words), spoke mixed sentences, and would not adapt her communication to the language of her interlocutor. Her morphology was productive in both languages, making for word creations of mixed origins." By the age of two she had separated the languages. Yet, even then, once she had established a set for one language, she had difficulty changing languages quickly to that of a new interlocutor.

In Leopold's classic study of his daughter Hildegard, mixing of German and English in the early stages of language development is also reported. She, too, was able to separate the two languages in response to the language of the interlocutor by age two. In contrast, Ronjat shows little mixing of French and German by his son. According to Ronjat, when a word was borrowed from one language to the other, it was clearly isolated as being a borrowed word.

Studies of sequential acquisition of a second language also vary in the presence and amount of mixing. Paul, the four-year-old Taiwanese child studied by Huang, did not mix languages and switched consistently by setting and interlocutor: English at the playschool and Cantonese everywhere else.

The five-year-old children observed by Cathcart (1972) yield very different data. These children, all Anglos, attended school where the traditional curriculum was taught in Spanish although no special Spanish language lessons were given. The children quickly learned to respond to Spanish commands from their teacher: Niñas, aquí. (The girls all get in line.) Los más calladitos van primero en casa. (Everyone sits very quietly.) Then they began to answer their teacher's Spanish with English much as the Arabic-English exchanges of my neighbors: No has terminado? Not yet. Dónde está su yo-yo? She don't have one. Tienes calor? No, I don't got my undershirt. Finally, they began inserting Spanish, particularly nouns, into English sentences as a sort of relexicalization process: I got a quarter for leche. Tres more dias and we're going to the zoo. I'm a avion. It's a verde paper. This later changed to true mixing where word order of each language was maintained: I have a bicicleta roja. Actually, the mixing that occured was little different from that of adult learners who throw in a sí, pero... or a más o menos while speaking English to Spanish-English bilinguals in order to establish an identity, a common bond in communication.

At first glance, Cathcart's data seems similar to mixing data from a nearby school collected by Adams (1973). These children, however, were proficient bilinguals. They use both mixing and switching but not when they speak to the teacher, only in peer conversations: Cada uno? I'm gonna do two. Hey, no. Es para lo cocina. Get out! Shoo! Está upside down. The difference between the two groups is quite clear. In the Cathcart study, children mix languages as a way to make communication possible with their teacher. They insert Spanish vocabulary items into English sentences as they learn them. They are not fluent in the two languages. In the second case, the children use mixing as their peer language. For them, it is not a case of deficiency in either language.

Lance and Uyekubo both have stunning examples that show the children in their studies are quite capable of saying whatever they wish in either of their two languages but prefer to combine them for more effective communication with their peers:

C: Cuéntame del juego.
R: Mmm...primero they were leading diez pa' nada.
C: ¿Diez a nada? ¡Isssh! ¿Y luego?
R: Then there was our team to bat and we made...'cimos dos carreras. And then ellos fueron a batear. Hicieron una and then nosotros 'cimos cinco. Después 'ciron six, 'ciron cinco.
S: Siete.
R: And then they made dos and then it was our time to bat and we made...
C: ¿Cuantas?
R: Ah...five or six. And then they beat us by five runs.

If you look at R's speech, you see that he used carreras as well as runs, batear as well as bat, and later in the passage he uses ganaron as well as beat. He uses numbers in both languages. Vocabulary impoverishment or lack of fluency in either language cannot account for such mixing.

Why do children and adults who are quite capable of using each language separately prefer to mix them? I think most mixers will give the same reasons that I have. For me, it sounds better. I can say what I want to say with more feeling and more meaning. It's a "better" way of expressing affection, of creating or strengthening family and community bonds. It adds color to the speech and makes for better story-telling.

This sounds very subjective so we have created a more academic term to cover these reasons. It's called tone. This is the person's ability to use a set of rhetorical devices for emotive purposes.

Tone. A number of rhetorical devices appear over and over again in the studies. Emphasis and color can be obtained by using a number of them in a variety of ways. Different people use different devices but it is their skill in using these devices which determines whether or not they can establish tone by mixing and switching. A number of these have been identified by Rayfield, Uyekubo, and Lance. Some of the categories are overlapping and some of them may not be clear from my examples. Once you abstract a mixed sentence from a dialogue or monologue it lacks the tone that you are trying to show has been established by the device.

1. Repetition of statement in two languages for emphasis.

RR She has a dream, ir ken es kulen, you can imagine. (You can imagine)
RR The water leaked from all sides. He made is worse. Di vaser gest fan ale zeytn.
AU Kono mae doo natta? What happened to this last time?
AU Nakanai no, nakanai no. Nobody cry.
DL But what I usually buy are those thick ones, las más gruesas.
DL It's real easy. 'Tá bien easy.
EH Saa skal vi spiser. Time to eat.
EH Maleesh, maleesh, cherie, never mind, never mind.

2. Contrasts heightened by switch at contrast point.

RR I wouldn't take my dog to him, aza klug er zey. (However clever he may be)

RR A telephone committee doesn't have to be 1 or 2, es kon zeyn finf oder zeks. (it can be 5 or 6)

AU Dakara ma futari hataraiteru kar but X says that if I don't want to, I don't have to. (That's why both of us are working....)

AU Kango fu ga iru yo cause I've had enough of good medicine, man. (I need a nurse you know....)

DL Boy, you get to hurtin so bad you can't hardly even 'cer masa pa' tortillas. (...can't make the tortillas.)

3. To emphasize the unexpected.

RR The kitchen is finf dolar (unexpectedly cheap)

EH And there in the doorway was...en stor mand. (telling a ghost story)

AU Un, Rodan ga tabeta. Oooh, another Rodan! Two Rodans! How do you like that! (Yeah, Rodan ate it up....)

4. For parenthetical remarks.

RR Tuesday is a busy day--leysn-kreyze, arbeterring (reading circle, workmen's circle)--better another day.

AU Oichi-ni, oichi-ni, that's the way A walks, oichi-ni, oichi-ni, where's she going? (one-two, one-two....)

5. To include the listener by tags which are emphasized.

In Japanese, ne and deshoo are something like right? or you follow? Yo is also used at the end of sentences for extra emphasis:

AU He's unhappy, ne, that's the point ne.

AU I guess ne that she had a hard life so that she can't believe people yo.

AU Actually they don't have a dining room deshoo?

AU Atashi suki da yo, you know. (I like it....)

DL It's about the same, no?

DL Pero como, you know...la Estela.

6. To emphasize quotations.

AU "Oh no, D, do you think a monkey can fly?" to ettara ne.

AU She said, "Asobi ni ikare nai."

DL Dice, "Ay." Dice, "You're gonna hit it." He says, "I'm a reckless driver." Le dijo, "I don't think."

RR I asked her, "Vus veynt ir?"

RR I said, "Leyele, what are you doing?" She says, "Ikh darf...."

AH "Spank you," níi leh. (he usually says)

AH "Get in line," shi'di'mih. (someone says to me)

7. Use of proverbs in another language.

RR "Ven an alte yidene khevet, vert a yunge veyb." I have a wonderful husband and I'm very happy. ("When an old Jewess marries she becomes a young woman.")

EH Sure I know you will, "bokra fra mish-mish." (Tomorrow when the apricots bloom--meaning never)

EH I don't know what to do "el raba wala atʕ el ʕesh." (Better cut my neck than cut off my bread)

8. For affection, good-humored teasing and swearing

EH Er du faerdig, you slow-poke, saa kører vi. (Are you ready...then we'll drive off.)

RR A couple of shnorers. (beggars)

AU A: Yuki is a nut. B: Soo kana. Taberare soo demo nai kedo nee. (Really? She doesn't look very edible.) A: Yuki is a pig! (Rest of conversation in Japanese.

I want to quote one extended example because it combines not only the use of switching for teasing and swearing but incorporates many of the other rhetorical devices we have discussed. This is a recording made by Ms. Uyekubo during a mah jong game. Much of the discussion about the game itself is in Japanese but the interplay between the players involves frequent mixing and switching to obtain a humorous tone that I think is exceptional:

E: So, do you want something to drink? A beer?
S11: No, thanks. Beer mottai nai yo. Mizu de ii yo. (Beer is too good for them. Water is good enough.)
S9: No, this is, this means money.
S11: Maketeru kara nominigeyoo to omotte. (Since he's losing, he thinks he can profit by running off with drinking.)
S8: Miro kore! God damn it! (Look at this!)
S10: What happened? (exaggerated) What happened? Huh, K?
S8: God damn it!
S11: How're you doing, K?
S10: Are you alright, K?
S9: God damn it! (This is not K)
S10: Nakanai no, nakanai no. Nobody cry...Jaa kore wa...nobody's going to cry. (Don't cry, don't cry. Nobody cry...then this one. Nobody's....) Come on.
S11: Wait a minute.
S10: What's the matter with you?
S11: Well, excuse me. Tsugoo ga warui yo. (It's inconvenient.)
S10: Nan'da yoo, tsugoo ga warui te. Yameta no? You stinker. (What do you mean by inconvenient? Have you quit? You stinker.)
S11: What are you talking about?
S8: Shut up. (S8 has just entered the house.)
S10: Omae kuru no osokatta yo. (You're late.)
E: Do you take your coffee black?
S10: He doesn't drink coffee.
E: How about a pie?
S9: No, he doesn't eat.
S10: He doesn't eat.
S8: I just ate....

S9: Whao! This is the first time he refused.
S10: Whao! What happened? Are you alright?
S9: Are you pregnant or something?
S8: Shut up, man.
S11: This is the first time he refused.
S8: Agatchau ha nai ka moo... (Hey, you going to go up...referring to the game.)
S10: It must be terrible, ne?

Looking at this example, we can see instances of external switching. Language switches when a new interlocutor arrives, when the topic changes from food (English) to the game (Japanese). In the internal category, most of the switches are at sentence or clause boundaries. Finally, a variety of rhetorical devices are used to obtain the tone of the conversation: switching for teasing, for swearing, for tags, repetition of statements in both languages, and so on. The speakers are fluent bilinguals and they have full command of a wide variety of rhetorical devices to establish the kind of tone they want, a tone of comradeship.

Looking at such examples, it is easy to understand Oksaar's claim that language mixers really have three languages, two languages to be used with monolinguals, and a third mixed language to be used among themselves. Ferguson has criticized this notion rather strongly saying that it is always clear which language is the dominant language in such mixed speech. Not knowing the languages that well and not really knowing the situation in Texas where claims of a third language have also been made for language mixers, it is difficult for me to tell. But certainly we would have to agree that teachers are wrong if they think that mixers of this fluency "speak no language at all."

But the questions we began with are unanswered. Can we predict when and where switching and mixing will occur? After the fact, we can look at almost any passage and say the person switched here and mixed here for such and such a reason, but how much prediction could we make before the fact? Very little, I suspect. As Mario Pei was reportedly fond of saying, "You can't tell which way the cat will jump." Maybe that's all there is to be said. We can tell you where the cat went and why afterwards but how could we predict a passage like this final one from Labov's study of Puerto Rican speech in New York:

> Por eso cada, you know it's nothing to be proud of, porque yo no estoy proud of it, as a matter of fact I hate it, pero viene Vierne y Sabado yo estoy, tu me ve haci a mi, sola with a, aqui solita, a veces que Frankie me deja, you know a stick or something, y yo equi solita, queces Judy no sabe y yo estoy haci, viendo television, but I rather, y cuando estoy con gente yo me. . . borracha porque me siento mas, happy, mas free, you know, pero si yo estoy con mucha gente yo no estoy, you know, high, more or less, I couldn't get along with anybody.

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MEASURING LANGUAGE DOMINANCE IN BILINGUALS

J. Donald Bowen

One of the practical concerns of bilingualism has been the means of making a reliable determination of the relative strength of each of a speaker's two languages.* Indeed the definition of a bilingual in some part depends on a minimum degree of competence in the weaker language; otherwise bilingual status can be claimed by anyone who has learned to say *mañana* or *aloha*. Weinreich's definition of "alternately using two languages" is not completely helpful, because he doesn't indicate precisely what constitutes "use". (Weinreich, 1964, p. 1) In other words we can legitimately ask "At what point in his study does a second-language student become bilingual? What is the minimum second-language competence that allows a student to claim bilingual status?"

The present study is not primarily concerned with the extremes of competence levels, but rather with the area near the balance. How can we determine, in the case of an individual who clearly has competence in two languages, which language is dominant? Does the native or first language demonstrate an advantage that is never (or rarely) overcome? If it doesn't have an inherent advantage, under what conditions or circumstances is the native language dislodged from its dominant position as the most effective means of communication? Is it possible for a child to grow up confused between two languages to the extent that he really doesn't master either, as some educators have claimed? Is language dominance merely a matter of cumulative experience with dominance in each of a person's various domains determined by the history of association with the language of first (or continued) contact with that domain?

These are interesting questions, the answers to which would provide enlightened guidance to professional educators concerned with bilingual education. At the present time, when the courts have ruled that non-English (or weak English) speakers must be given a linguistically fair chance to get an education (equal access to a traditional education in English is not enough for those whose English makes them non-competitive), educators at many levels of responsibility must be concerned with the question of language competence and effective ways of attaining a useful level of competence. And educators with a particular concern for bilingual approaches cannot fail to be interested in the questions of dominance patterns and how these can be manipulated through curriculum design.

There are educators who feel that a child should be educated in his strongest language (usually assumed to be the language of his home). Others have suggested, in the interest of bilingual balance, that education (or at least a significant portion of it) should be offered in the weaker language --the language least likely to be developed without some specific curriculum intervention. (Lambert and Tucker, 1972, p. 216) I have elsewhere expressed my own conviction that this is not primarily a linguistic problem, that education in any sufficient language is possible, and that the choice of a language medium (or media) should be made on the basis of psychological or social criteria and not necessarily limited to native language or strongest language. (Bowen, forthcoming)

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But even if the selection of the medium of instruction is well based educationally, with proper concern for social and psychological considerations, educators will still want to have a reliable means of measuring language dominance, for research reasons if for no other reason. This will be even more important in successful bilingual programs, where something resembling "balance" is achieved (though some scholars would hold that an absolute balance, or "ambilingualism" as Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens refer to it, is wholly impossible--lives are not structured in a way that permits precisely equal access to two linguistic systems). (Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens, 1964, p. 78) Perhaps it will be possible, as Fishman, Cooper, and Ma suggest, to determine dominance by self-report, simply by asking the person involved which language he is more capable in, provided he has no reason to give a biased answer. (Fishman, Cooper, and Ma, 1971, p. 105 passim) But this assumption needs to be proved, and it is not unlikely that the answer will be much more complex than the question.

Certain assumptions underlie the attempt to study the effects of language dominance in the present paper. Comparisons of various types are made between aspects of performance in the bilingual's two languages, somewhat reminiscent of the matched-guise technique of Wallace Lambert. (Lambert, 1967) It is assumed that the same mind is expressing itself on the basis of the same total experience, that differences in expression will be associated with the language being used. It is recognized that this assumption may be proved false, that the mind is possibly somewhere 'divided' by linguistic criteria and that it is neither fair nor possible to compare output in one language with that of another. Such a finding would probably bring into question some of the conclusions that may be drawn from this study, but the assumption of unconnected mental compartments built on linguistic patterns is also not proved. My hunch, since bilinguals are able to express the same content in both their languages, is that it won't be--a research risk that I accept. In the meantime, I assume a common cognitive base in total experience and ascribe differences in expression to the competence/performance levels that operate for each language, without denying that experiences may variably structure greater fluency in one or the other language for particular domains.

This study is designed to inquire into the possibility of meaningful correlations between various aspects of performance in the oral expression of a bilingual speaker (of English and Spanish) as a means of judging relative linguistic competence, i.e. dominance in one of his two languages.

I assume that competence cannot be measured directly but is revealed only through performance, and I wish to test the assumption that a systematic observation of performance will yield reliable measures that can be quantified and tested for significance. Accordingly, the following questions are asked in search of the most meaningful indices of difference in performance in oral expression:

1) Does the speaker show a preference for one of his languages by expressing more detail and thus devoting more time to exposition when no external constraints or time limits are imposed? If so, does this vary by function or domain?
2) Is there a difference in the size and range of the vocabulary he uses in each language?
3) Is there a difference in the degree of complexity of syntactic structures employed?
4) Is tempo or rate of delivery (words per second) a meaningful variable?
5) Do errors (of competence or performance) occur more frequently in one language than in the other (especially errors attributable to interference from the other language)?
6) Will performance in the presumably weaker language show more hesitation (unfilled pauses, filled pauses, pauses within phrases, restarts with or without introducing changes or corrections in the text)?
7) Will there be more cases of physical interference (sniffles, heavy breathing or sighs, coughs, throat clearing, swallowing) in the language presumed to be weaker?
8) Will practice be a factor of performance quality given the fact that performance in a particular area of experience in one language must necessarily precede performance for the same area of experience in the other language?
9) Will performance in domains associated with reminiscence from the subject's early years vary in a consistent way with performance that reflects current or relatively recent concerns (given the assumption of early dominance in the native language and current dominance in the second language)?
10) Will there be systematic differences between performance in the two languages in the semantic content expressed such that more information, or more information per unit of time, is presented in one language than the other?

DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

To undertake a study of this kind one begins by collecting data. The data reflects performance in two languages, and if comparisons are to be drawn the data must in every possible way be comparable. My approach has been to elicit from a bilingual informant extemporaneous but guided oral presentations in a range of subjects that reflect different interests and possibly different domains in the life of the speaker. Five subjects of discussion were chosen, as follows:

I. Reminiscence: Personal History
II. Current Problem: Hijacking Airplanes
III. Current Problem: Ecology

IV. Fable: The Turtle and the Hare
V. Arithmetic: Computation Problems

The personal history and the fable could be assumed to encourage a tendency to look back towards one's early years in reminiscence. The current problems were chosen as recent concerns of present-day relevance. The arithmetic computation reflects an abstract skill that could be expected to favor the language in which the skill was acquired and has been practiced.

To minimize the effects of practice the order of presentation was designed in such a way that for each segment the speaker varied subject and language. The total pattern was as follows:

Ia.	Personal History	English
IIb.	Hijacking Airplanes	Spanish
IIIa.	Ecology	English
IVb.	The Turtle and the Hare	Spanish
Va.	Arithmetic Problems	English
IIIb.	Ecology	Spanish
IVa.	The Turtle and the Hare	English
Vb.	Arithmetic Problems	Spanish
IIa.	Hijacking Airplanes	English
Ib.	Personal History	Spanish

As this list shows, each recorded presentation alternates between English and Spanish, and the subject changes with each segment.

Guidance was given in the form of instructions and in ten short word or phrase outlines to guide the speakers by offering suggestions as to what he might talk about. At the beginning of the recording session the instructions, given below, were handed to the speaker for him to read, after which he was given an opportunity to ask any questions he wished:

Recording Instructions

1. For this recording you will be asked to speak informally and extemporaneously in English and in Spanish on four different subjects and to do a short series of simple problems in arithmetic.
2. You will alternate, recording one segment in English, then one in Spanish, then one in English, and so on for a total of ten short recording segments.
3. The language and the subject will change each time you begin a different segment.
4. For each speech (or narration) you will be handed a brief outline. It is intended only as suggestive and doesn't have to be followed. You can say anything you want about the subject.
5. Interspersed will be two short series of arithmetic problems, which you will do in writing but also orally, making your calculations aloud as you do them (so the process can be recorded).
6. After each outline or problem is handed to you, you will have thirty seconds to look it over before beginning to record.
7. The recordings may be as brief or as long as you wish. There is no expected minimum or maximum.

8. Narrate, don't just itemize as if making a list. But you may develop your narration in any way you wish.
9. If you have any questions, ask them before we start. Once we begin we will continue uninterrupted until all ten segments are finished. We will not stop to correct or redo anything.

As can be seen, these instructions are designed to brief the speaker and control the conditions of recording without informing him of the details that will be studied (vocabulary, syntax, fluency, etc.). The content of the outlines handed one at a time to the speaker were as follows:

Suggestive Outlines

Ia. Brief Life History	Ib. Breve Historia Personal
1. Birth	1. Nacimiento
2. Family	2. Familia
3. Childhood	3. Niñez
4. School	4. Educación
5. Occupation	5. Ocupación
6. Marriage	6. Matrimonio
7. Travel	7. Viajes
8. Advanced Study	8. Estudios Superiores
9. Present Activities	9. Actividades Actuales
10. Plans	10. Planes
IIa. Airplane Hijackings	IIb. Hijacking de Aviones
1. Definition	1. Definición
2. Reasons	2. Razones
to escape prosecution	para escapar la ley
to secure release of prisoners	para libertar a los prisioneros
to demand money	para exigir dinero
to "be important"	para crearse importante
to get attention	para ganar atención
3. Serious Problem	3. Problema Serio
shock to passengers	susto a los pasajeros
dangerous	peligroso
costly	costoso
4. Solutions	4. Soluciones
passenger screening	examinación de pasajeros
armed guards	guardias armadas
international laws	leyes internacionales
IIIa. Environment and Ecology	IIIb. Ambiente y Ecología
1. Recent Awareness of Ecology	1. Consciencia Reciente de "Ecología"
2. Problems	2. Problemas
air pollution	contaminación del aire
pollution of streams and lakes	contaminación de ríos y lagos
sea pollution	contaminación del mar
traffic	tráfico
dirty streets	calles mugrientas

urban sprawl		difusión urbana	
population explosion		explosión de la población	
electric power (nuclear plants)		poder eléctrico (plantas nucleares)	
3. Solutions		3. Soluciones	
public concern		interés público	
conservation		conservación	
recycling		el re-uso de materias	
mass transportation		transportación en grupos	
bicycles		bicicletas	
family planning		limitación de nacimientos	
IVa. Fable--The Turtle and the Hare		IVb. Fábula--La Tortuga y el Conejo	
1. Meeting		1. Encuentro	
2. Challenge		2. Desafío	
3. Beginning of the Race		3. Comienzo de la Carrera	
4. Carelessness of the Hare		4. Descuido del Conejo	
5. Result		5. Resultado	
6. Moral		6. Moraleja	
Va. Arithmetic Problems		Vb. Problemas Aritméticos	
Do the following problems, aloud and in writing.		Haga los problemas siguientes, en voz alta y por escrito.	
1. Addition	289 + 756	1. Adición	178 + 876
2. Subtraction	1341 - 569	2. Subtracción	1452 - 458
3. Multiplication	973 x 8	3. Multiplicación	862 x 9
4. Division	7/2065	4. División	9/2655

The language of the outline serves as the cue for the language of the recording. Speakers of standard Spanish will note the use of certain Mexican-American dialect forms, such as "substracción" instead of "resto"; these we selected for their familiarity to speakers from this background.

The recordings were made on an Ampex AG350 in a sound conditioned recording room with remote controls located in the room. The quality of the recordings is excellent, with a playback that is clear and distinct. After the recordings were completed and a working copy was dubbed, an additional copy was re-recorded through a microphone with a metronome marking one second intervals, to facilitate timing various aspects of the recordings, such as the percentage of unfilled pauses, etc. Later a transcript was marked for the occurrence of each tick; playing the tape at half-normal speed made it relatively easy to position the ticks on the appropriate syllables.

The subject of the study is a young professional in his early thirties, holder of an M.A. degree (he was the first member of his extended family to ever complete high school), and currently in a joint high school-community college teaching appointment. He speaks Spanish (his native language) and

English, which he began to learn at age six. He spoke Spanish with his parents, English with younger and older brothers and sisters (he was number five in a family of six children). All his schooling was in English, and he was an above-average student. The present domains in which he uses English are his teaching, shopping, and ethnic interest groups. Spanish is used with a few "compañeros," mostly for social greetings and to establish ethnic "identity." Spanish and English are used within the immediate family, where he encourages Spanish, though his two daughters favor English. He feels that he is most competent in English and that he did better in recording the English segments of the data described above, though he judged the second version easier to make, regardless of language (i.e., that experience facilitated the second version of a recording).

DATA AND ANALYSIS

The data gathered and analyzed is presented in the following sections of the paper in charts and descriptive paragraphs. The first chart shows the time devoted to the recording of each segment with proportions of that time assigned to the expression of content, filled pauses and restarts, and unfilled pauses (quiet time apparently devoted to thinking or rethinking).

The data are not consistent, with somewhat different patterns of time allocation for different pairs of segments. The personal history segment in Spanish, for example, is more than twice as long as the same subject treated in English. The fable is likewise allocated more time in Spanish. Since these two--personal history and fable--represent reminiscence in the current-reminisced contrast, Spanish outdistances English in reminiscence. More time is given to English in the hijacking-airplanes segment, while in ecology the allocations are virtually equal. The greatest disparity is in arithmetic computation, where a set of problems takes well over twice as long to do in Spanish.

In calculating the time allocations for segments recorded first vs. segments recorded second, only recordings of the first four subjects were tallied. This permitted two English and two Spanish segments to be combined in each group. Including the fifth subject, arithmetic computation, would have unbalanced the symmetry, with three segments recorded first as against only two recorded second in English, and the obverse in Spanish. The combined time allocations for segments recorded second is about three minutes longer than those recorded first. This would seem to support the assumption that practice gave the speaker more ideas to express in his second recording of the same subject, but the pattern of a longer second recording was not consistent: two were longer and two were shorter. The total reflects the fact that when the second recording was longer (IB and IIA), it was substantially longer.

In the current vs. reminisced categories English and Spanish scores are reported separately. This is to test the hypothesis that English may be dominant in speech that represents current concerns, while Spanish is a more appropriate vehicle to express subjects that recall times when the speaker was presumably Spanish-dominant. Judging by the length of the

Chart 1

Time Allocations

	Total Time		Percentage Allocations			
	Min. & Sec.	Seconds	Unfilled Pauses	Filled Pauses or Restarts	Total Lost	Message Time
I A Per. Hist.	2:41	161	18.3	2.4	20.7	79.3
B	5:33	333	19.6	4.4	24.0	76.0
II A Hijacking	3:47	227	21.5	2.1	23.6	76.4
B	3:10	190	17.2	2.5	19.7	80.3
III A Ecology	3:13	193	16.3	6.1	22.4	77.6
B	3:10	190	25.1	11.3	36.4	63.6
IV A Fable	3:22	202	19.7	1.4	21.1	78.9
B	3:45	225	17.4	5.6	23.0	77.0
V A Arithmetic	1:37	97	9.9	0.0	9.9	90.1
B	3:35	215	29.2	1.0	30.2	69.8
All English	14:40	880	18.0	2.7	20.7	79.3
Spanish	19:13	1153	21.4	4.8	26.2	73.8
*Recorded First	12:49	769	17.3	4.3	21.6	78.4
Second	15:52	952	21.2	4.6	25.8	74.2
*Current Eng	7:00	420	19.1	4.0	23.1	76.9
Span	6:20	380	21.1	5.1	26.2	73.8
*Reminisced Eng	6:03	363	19.1	1.9	21.0	79.0
Span	9:18	558	18.7	4.9	23.6	76.4

*Segments I to IV only

Chart 2

Word and Sentence Grammar

	Vocabulary					Tempo		Syntax	
	Mean Word Length	Tokens	Types	Ratio	No. on K-F List	Ratio of Words to Seconds Total	Message	T Units	Mean Length T Units
I A Per. Hist	4.37	338	167	2.02	60	2.10	2.60	29	11.65
B	4.38	573	247	2.31	--	1.72	2.20	53	10.81
II A Hijacking	4.85	383	183	2.09	61	1.69	2.15	24	15.95
B	4.81	340	145	2.34	--	1.79	2.14	20	17.00
III A Ecology	4.60	357	174	2.05	70	1.85	2.35	18	19.83
B	4.69	236	117	2.01	--	1.24	1.90	17	13.88
IV A Fable	4.25	420	169	2.48	86	2.08	2.56	21	20.00
B	4.37	407	193	2.10	--	1.81	2.30	31	13.12
V A Arithmetic	4.67	199	50	3.98	10	2.05	2.19	34	5.85
B	4.63	296	48	6.16	--	1.38	2.00	55	5.38
All English	4.53	1697	547	3.10	143	1.93	2.37	126	13.46
Spanish	4.54	1852	546	3.39	--	1.60	2.13	176	10.52
*Recorded First	4.53	1442	590	2.44	--	1.88	2.33	98	14.71
Second	4.53	1612	620	2.60	--	1.69	2.22	115	14.01
*Current Eng	4.73	740	311	2.37	101	1.76	2.24	42	17.61
Span	4.76	576	224	2.57	--	1.52	2.04	37	15.56
*Reminisced Eng	4.31	758	301	2.51	113	2.09	2.58	50	15.16
Span	4.38	980	378	2.59	--	1.76	2.23	84	11.66

*Segments I to IV only

recordings this seems to be the case: Current topics were discussed at greater length in English, reminisced topics at greater length in Spanish.

But length of time devoted to the recording is only one measure. Another, probably more revealing, is the efficiency of expression as measured by the percentage of time lost in unfilled pauses (where the speaker seems to be arranging his thoughts), filled pauses (fumble words), and restarts (with or without correction or change in the content). Presumably in the dominant language there are fewer of these.

Taken together the Spanish segments have a higher proportion of pauses and restarts (especially the latter) and correspondingly a smaller remaining "message time"--the amount of time that was actually devoted to expressing thoughts and ideas--with 18.9 per cent more unfilled pauses and 77.8 per cent more filled pauses or restarts in Spanish. The total lost time in Spanish is 26.6 per cent greater than in English, which would seem to indicate substantially greater efficiency of communication in English.

There is an almost similar pattern for sequence of recording, but surprisingly the segments recorded first are more efficient (26.6 per cent difference); practice apparently doesn't lead to improvement, in spite of the speaker's feeling that he did better on the second versions.

No clear pattern emerges for the English/Spanish current/reminisced contrasts. Reminisced segments seem to be more efficient, but both categories reflect the English-Spanish distinction mentioned above, with English more efficient in both.

Segments V stand out. The arithmetic problems are done quickly and easily in English but cause quite a struggle in Spanish, requiring 122 per cent more time for the computations, with a very large 29.2 per cent of unfilled pauses compared to less than 10 per cent in English. Obviously the domain of arithmetical computation is handled more easily and efficiently in English, the language in which school instruction was given. It is incidentally interesting to note that in the multiplication problems done in both English and Spanish, calculation errors were made in the tens column; all other calculations were accurate.

Time allocations for the individual segments and groupings of segments are one type of measure that allows comparisons. Chart 2 shows other features, of word and sentence grammar, specifically the vocabulary load, including the extent and variety of vocabulary items used, the tempo or rate of production, measured in words per second, and the relative complexity of the syntax employed.

One very simple comparison in the area of vocabulary that can be examined is relative length of words. Since English and Spanish both use relatively similar alphabetic writing systems, the mean number of letters per word offers a reasonable standard of comparison. No difference between languages, recording order, or currency status was expected, and none was found. The means were all within six tenths of a letter, 4.25 to 4.85, averaging 4.53 letters per word in English and 4.54 in Spanish.

More interesting is the amount and range of vocabulary used. The total number of words, listed as "tokens," and the number of different words, listed as "types," are given for each segment and grouping. The proportion of different words to total words, the "type-token ratio," then, is a measure of the richness or variety of vocabulary use. A relatively low ratio indicates a more varied vocabulary than a relatively higher ratio. Comparisons of the matching English-Spanish segments proved to be inconclusive: for segments I and II English is lower, for III and IV Spanish is. Together there is very little difference; combining I to IV in English produces a ratio of 2.91, in Spanish of 2.96. (The ratios tend to be higher in longer counts.) As in the case of other measures, segments V are distinctive with respect to type-token ratios: solving problems by using the formulas of computation appears to involve a considerable amount of repetition, and the ratios rise. But the rise in Spanish is sharply higher, reflecting the effects of recalculation as the speaker computed and recomputed, checked and rechecked his figures. Even including the computation segments in an English-Spanish comparison produces ratios that are different by only .29 of a point. Without the biased V segments the difference is only .05 of a point.

In a separate column figures are given indicating the number of words in the various English segments and groupings that also appear on the Kucera-Francis list of 220 most frequently used words in English. This is not crucial information, especially since there is no comparable list in Spanish available, but it does show that the vocabulary items in the segments are reasonably representative of normal English usage. In the individual segments (excepting V) 33.3 to 50.8 per cent of the vocabulary items also appear on the Kucera-Francis list, with approximately two-thirds of the list represented in the combined English segments.

Tempo is an interesting feature of oral expression. Typically individuals judge foreign tongues to be spoken more rapidly than their own, though this probably reflects limited (or non-existent) familiarity with the "other" language. The attempt to establish rates of pronunciation in the present study is based on the assumption that syllables are indeed comparable units and that the number of letters per word (and per syllable) is satisfactorily related to number of syllables per unit of time. These assumptions could of course prove false, both because the ratios of letters to syllables might be undependable and because differences in syllable structure in English and Spanish might have an undetermined but significant effect on rate of pronunciation. This remains to be studied.

But for what they are worth, figures are presented for two different time measures: the total time and message time listed in chart 1. Of these two, message time would seem more meaningfully related to tempo per se, with the total time figures indirectly reflecting efficiency, since pauses, hesitation, and restarts account for the extra time. In virtually all comparisons there are more words per second in English than in Spanish, though sometimes the difference is not great (ranging from almost identical to over half a word per second). A difference of .24 of a word favors English when segments are combined by language. Relatively little difference appears by order or by currency.

A difference that may be more important and more significant is a measure of syntactic complexity. This is calculated by counting the number of words per T-unit, which is a minimal independent clause (with any associated dependent clauses). More words per T-unit (i.e., longer clauses) is assumed to indicate more complexity. In all pairs of segments except II English has a higher mean T-unit length, ranging from minimal (7.7 per cent in I) to substantial (52.4 per cent in IV), averaging 27.9 for all five segments, including the counter evidence of segment II. There seems again to be no justification for considering order or currency as a significant variable.

We might wonder why segments II are out of the pattern, with more complexity indicated for Spanish. A suggested explanation is that the subject of hijacking airplanes elicited a very sympathetic response in the speaker. It happened that a short time previous to our recording date a Mexican-American for political reasons had hijacked a plane bound from Albuquerque to Los Angeles. He demanded and received as his price for surrender extensive radio and television coverage which he used to publicize the problems faced in the United States by Mexican-Americans. The Spanish segment was recorded first, and the speaker's interest waxed strong, to a point where he wondered aloud if the hijacker had committed a real criminal offense, since his motives were honorable and his gun wasn't loaded. Perhaps this interest, which is extremely difficult to quantify and measure, was responsible for the extra eloquence of the Spanish version, which had cooled a bit when the English version was recorded later.

Chart 3 presents other features that may influence the efficiency of expression in a bilingual's two languages: the number and kind of repeats or restarts, errors, and interference.

Chart 3 lists first of all the repeats or backups and restarts, some with no corrections made (the speaker's voice just seemed to outrun his thoughts) and some with corrections of content, grammar, or pronunciation (a kind of editing process to improve and refine the text of the messages). The time devoted to these restarts was reported in Chart 1, included with filled pauses. The present count is merely a tally of the number of times there were restarts in each segment and grouping. Presumably the weaker language will show a greater number of slips that have to be corrected. As the totals show, the Spanish recordings have many more, two and a half times as many. This measure definitely appears to favor English.

An error count was made for all segments in both languages (listing uncorrected errors of any kind that could be detected in either language). The tapes were heard and analyzed by native speakers of both Spanish and English. Originally it was expected that all errors would be tallied together, but results in the data strongly suggest that structure and pronunciation errors should be considered separately. It can be seen that in terms of structure English is freer of errors; Spanish has three structure errors for every one in English. But phonology is another story; English has more than three (3.3) pronunciation errors for every one in Spanish. It appears that the dominant language is more free of grammatical mistakes, but the native language has fewer errors of pronunciation.

Chart 3

Repeats, Errors, Physical Interference

	Repeats						Errors									Physical Interference					
							Structure			Phonology											
	No correction	Correct content	Correct pron.	Correct gram.	Stammering	TOTAL	Grammar	Omissions	TOTAL	Pronun.	Stress	Inton.	Linking	TOTAL		Sniffle	Breath/sigh	Cough	Throat clear	Swallowing	TOTAL
I. A Per. Hist	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	3	5	2	3	0	10		19	9	0	0	2	30
B	3	2	1	7	3	16	19	9	28	8	1	3	0	12		40	5	0	1	5	51
II. A Hijacking	2	2	2	1	0	7	3	1	4	10	1	1	0	12		27	4	0	0	2	33
B	6	4	1	3	0	14	10	2	12	6	2	0	0	8		22	7	0	0	2	31
III. A Ecology	4	3	1	1	0	9	8	0	8	21	1	1	5	28		24	5	0	0	1	30
B	5	5	1	0	2	13	5	3	8	3	0	0	0	3		23	1	0	0	2	26
IV. A Fable	1	4	0	2	0	7	6	0	6	12	5	2	4	23		22	5	0	0	2	29
B	3	3	1	8	0	15	8	6	14	6	0	0	0	6		29	7	0	1	2	39
V. A Arithmetic	5	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2		12	1	0	0	1	14
B	13	0	0	2	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		25	1	0	3	1	30
All English	13	9	3	4	0	29	19	2	21	50	9	7	9	96		104	24	0	0	8	136
Spanish	30	14	4	20	5	73	42	20	62	23	3	3	0	29		139	21	0	5	12	177
*Recorded First	14	10	3	12	0	39	28	9	37	38	5	4	5	52		94	28	0	1	7	130
Second	11	13	4	10	5	43	33	13	46	33	7	6	4	50		112	15	0	1	11	139
*Current Eng	6	5	3	2	0	16	11	1	12	31	2	2	5	40		51	9	0	0	3	63
Span	11	9	2	3	2	27	15	5	20	9	2	0	0	11		45	8	0	0	4	57
*Reminisced Eng	2	4	0	2	0	8	8	1	9	17	7	5	4	33		41	14	0	0	4	59
Span	6	5	2	15	3	31	27	15	42	14	1	3	0	18		64	12	0	2	7	90

*Segments I to IV only

There may be explanations for the non-standard pronunciation features of English: perhaps they are accepted (or even cultivated) as a means of ethnic identification, or if they do not usefully serve that purpose, perhaps they merely reflect the model that was available in a bilingual setting when the speaker was first learning English at age six in New Mexico. The differences in error ratios disappear when comparisons by order of recording or currency are made.

Finally a measure of physical interference was attempted. The assumption underlying the inclusion of these factors was that there would tend to be a higher anxiety level during use of the weaker language, so that the speaker would sniffle, sigh, cough, clear his throat, and swallow oftener. This proved not to be the case; the rate of occurrence of these physical interference phenomena was related closely to the factor of time. Chart 4 shows summaries of the restarts, errors, and interferences in relation to the length of each recording.

The restarts, errors, and interference are shown in Chart 4 in terms of their frequency during the recordings, measured by the average number of seconds (calculated from total time) between occurrences. Thus in all English recordings there was a repeat every 30.3 seconds, but in Spanish twice as often--every 15.8 seconds. The frequency of these phenomena are then calculated on the number of words between repeats, which has the effect of ignoring lost time, since the vocabulary tally comes from the edited text, excluding restarts. The results seem not to be significantly different, since the number of restarts does seem to be related to overall proficiency.

Grammar errors likewise indicate dominance in English. Whereas in English an error in structure occurs on the average of once every 41.9 seconds, in Spanish the interval averages once every 18.6 seconds. The dominance for English is consistently found in every pair of segments, so that in terms of language structure the speaker's second language is more accurate and efficient. But pronunciation is another matter: every 9.2 seconds there was a pronunciation error in English, compared to every 39.8 seconds in Spanish, which is over four times more frequently in English. Apparently pronunciation habits are more deeply embedded so that first-language patterns persist, influencing even a second language that has become dominant.

In tallying errors, forms and pronunciations normal to New Mexican Spanish but considered non-standard elsewhere were not counted as mistakes. Thus New Mexican aigre, salemos, algotros, destendía for standard aire, salimos, otros, extendía are not tallied as errors, since they are normal to the speaker's dialect.

Examples of physical interference, the non-speech functions of the vocal tract, vary within narrow limits. The all-Spanish and all-English ratios for seconds per interference are absolutely identical, one every 6.5 seconds. There is apparently no connection between these events and speech, at least not for this speaker.

Chart 4

Ratios for Time and Vocabulary

	Total					Seconds per					Words per			
	Repeats	Structure Errors	Pronunciation Errors	Physical Interference	Total Seconds	Repeat	Structure Error	Pronun. Error	Physic. Interf.	Total Words	Repeat	Structure Error	Pronun. Error.	Physic. Interf.
I A Per. Hist.	1	3	10	30	161	161.0	53.7	16.1	5.4	338	338.0	112.7	33.8	11.3
B	16	28	12	51	333	20.8	11.9	27.8	6.6	573	35.8	20.5	47.8	11.2
II A Hijacking	7	4	12	33	227	32.4	56.8	18.9	6.9	383	54.7	95.8	31.9	11.6
B	14	12	8	31	190	13.6	15.8	23.8	6.1	340	24.3	28.3	42.5	11.0
III A Ecology	9	8	28	30	193	21.4	24.1	6.9	6.4	357	39.7	44.6	12.8	11.9
B	13	8	3	26	190	14.6	23.8	63.3	7.3	236	18.2	29.5	78.7	9.1
IV A Fable	7	6	23	29	202	28.9	33.7	8.8	7.0	420	60.0	70.0	18.3	14.5
B	15	14	6	39	225	15.0	16.1	37.5	5.8	407	27.1	29.1	67.8	10.4
V A Arithmetic	5	0	2	14	97	19.4	-	48.5	6.9	199	39.8	-	99.5	14.2
B	15	0	0	30	215	14.3	-	-	7.2	296	19.7	-	-	9.9
All English	29	21	96	136	880	30.3	41.9	9.2	6.5	1697	58.5	80.8	17.7	13.5
Spanish	73	62	29	177	1153	15.8	18.6	39.8	6.5	1852	25.4	29.8	63.9	10.5
*Recorded First	39	37	52	130	769	19.7	18.4	14.8	5.9	1442	37.0	39.0	27.7	11.1
Second	43	46	50	139	952	22.1	20.7	19.0	6.8	1612	37.5	35.0	32.2	11.6
*Current Eng	16	12	40	63	420	26.3	35.0	10.5	6.7	740	46.3	61.7	18.5	11.7
Span	27	20	11	57	380	14.1	19.0	34.5	6.7	576	21.3	28.8	52.4	10.1
*Reminisced Eng	8	9	33	59	363	45.4	40.3	11.0	6.2	758	94.8	84.2	23.0	12.8
Span	31	42	18	90	558	18.0	13.3	31.0	6.2	980	31.6	23.3	54.4	10.9

*Segments I to IV only

The final measure of relative proficiency in Spanish and English is semantic load, shown in Chart 5.

Chart 5 Semantic Load

	Content Points			Time		Ratio	
						Seconds per point for	
	Non Shared	Shared	Total	Total	Message	Total Time	Message Time
I A Per. Hist.	23	15	38	161	130	4.2	3.4
B	30	15	45	333	260	7.4	5.8
II A Hijacking	11	5	16	227	178	14.2	11.1
B	8	5	13	190	159	14.6	12.2
III A Ecology	10	6	16	193	152	12.1	9.5
B	7	6	13	190	124	14.6	9.5
IV A Fable	11	9	20	202	164	10.1	8.2
B	13	9	22	225	177	10.2	8.0
V A Arithmetic	1	20	21	97	91	4.6	4.3
B	5	20	25	215	148	8.6	5.9
All English	56	55	111	880	715	7.9	6.4
Spanish	63	55	118	1153	868	9.8	7.4
*Recorded First	54	35	89	769	620	8.6	6.9
Second	59	35	94	952	726	10.1	7.7
*Current Eng	21	11	32	420	330	13.1	10.3
Span	15	11	26	380	283	14.6	10.8
*Reminisced Eng	34	24	58	363	294	6.3	5.1
Span	43	24	67	558	439	8.3	6.6

*Segments I to IV only

Content points, a rather rough and ready analysis of the semantic information contained in each segment, were listed, and paired segments were compared. As might be expected, since these "extemporaneous" compositions were guided, there was substantial overlap, with numerous pairs of propositions in the two languages conveying the same information. Examples of a content analysis, showing points that appeared in both IA and IB are: (1) gives name, (2) place of birth, (3) family composition, (4) mood of early childhood, (5) age at mother's death, (6) age at father's death, (7) elementary education, (8) dropped out of school, (9) entered army, etc. In English but not in Spanish he reported: (1) length of military service, (2) specialization in the army, (3) first job, (4) present job, (5) present residence, etc. In Spanish but not in English: (1) relocation in grandmother's home (crowded sleeping arrangements), (2) age at grandmother's death, (3) relocation with an aunt, (4) current relationship with aunt, (5) fate of brothers and sisters, etc. This is admittedly a rather loose kind of content analysis, but hopefully it is comparable for the selections duplicated in the two languages. In the arithmetic computations, since slightly different numbers are used, equivalent (though not identical) sentences were matched.

(Looking at the content distribution for the two language versions suggests the possibility of learning something about thought patterns and preferences as expressed in one or the other of his languages. At least the content analysis hints at more concentration on events in early years in Spanish, later years in English. But that is another study.)

The total number of content points listed in each segment (those shared plus those occurring in only one language version) was compared to two measures of time: total time and message time. I assume the latter is more relevant, since using total time to calculate semantic efficiency would to some extent duplicate the measures of lost time in pauses and restarts.

There is not a lot of difference in the calculated seconds per point for the paired language segments: III are equal, IV virtually equal; I, II, and V show fewer seconds per point and presumably greater efficiency in English. The overall English ratio is 6.4 compared to Spanish 7.4, about a 15 per cent difference. The only surprise is the substantial contrast in current and reminisced topics, with almost twice as many seconds per point for current topics. Perhaps these points were more complex and sophisticated, more fully developed compared to the simple statements of the personal history and fable.

SIGNIFICANCE

Of the controlled variables--language, order, and currency--choice of language seems to be most important. Order patterns never display enough variation to even approach significance. This is a satisfactory finding since control for order is primarily a caution to make sure practice does not affect the results. In any case one could not predict whether the second version would reap the benefits of practice or suffer the loss of spontaneity. Fortunately it doesn't matter.

The current/reminisced variable was included to see if an associative domain relationship was present in the data, specifically to see if Spanish was more effective in discussing subjects that led the speaker to recall his early years, while English was more appropriate for presenting current concerns and problems. This seemed not to be the case. In general the Spanish-English contrast was reflected in the divisions for current and reminisced language. The one domain tested for which there was a decided language preference was arithmetic computation. It seems apparent that the speaker has both learned and used these skills in English and has had no occasion or need to transfer them to Spanish.

There were differences in choice of language, which was the contrast primarily studied. These, as presented in the preceeding charts and discussions, have been subjected to a one-way analysis of variance, using MINITAB, a statistical package developed by T. A. Ryan and B. L. Joiner at Pennsylvania State University, with the results as shown in Chart 6.

Chart 6 shows an analysis of variance for the entire ten segments collected for the study. The results appear to be somewhat arbitrary, with no consistent indication of the importance of factors that both intuition and an observation of the raw data tell us should be related. Perhaps this is in part because of the variance within the Spanish and English segments,

Chart 6

Analysis of Variance
10 segments

Confidence interval (df 1,8)	Not Significant F<3.46	Approaching Significance F>3.46<5.32 .10	Significant F>5.32 .05	Highly Significant F>11.26 .01
1. Total times of segments	2.48			
2. Percentage of lost time		3.94		
3. Mean word length	0.04			
4. Type-token ratio	0.32			
5. Tempo - words per second				
of total time			6.71	
of message time		5.05		
6. Mean T-Unit length	0.62			
7. Repeats - total				36.87
Seconds of total time per	1.84			
Seconds of mess. time per	2.00			
Words per	1.96			
8. Structure errors - total	2.94			
Seconds of total time per	3.29			
Seconds of mess. time per			10.75	
Words per		4.37		
9. Pronunciation errors - total	3.25			
Seconds of total time per	0.70			
Seconds of mess. time per	1.38			
Words per	0.15			
10. Physical Interfer. - total	2.17			
Seconds of total time per	0.04			
Seconds of mess. time per	1.90			
Words per			9.28	
11. Semantic load - total points	0.04			
Seconds of total time per	0.66			
Seconds of mess. time per	0.26			

which weakens the consistency that would have been influential in the calculations. One also notes that there are very few cases to compare, with only five segments in each language, which means relatively high F ratios are needed to justify claims to significance.

Examples of distortions are provided by the figures for structure and phonology errors, where zeros in the arithmetic segments produce F ratios that do not reflect the probable significance of the data that are available.

The only category that tests out highly significant is total number of repeats, but this fades into nonsignificance when prorated over measures of time or number of words. One tempo measure and a structure error-time measure prove significant, along with a very strange measure of number of words per physical interference that is very difficult to explain. There seems to be consistency even though differences in the data are small. Percentage

Chart 7

Analysis of Variance
8 segments

Confidence interval (df 1,6)	Not Significant F<3.78	Approaching Significance F>3.78<5.99 .10	Significant F>5.99 .05	Highly Significant F>13.75 .01
1. Total times of segments	1.13			
2. Percentage of lost time	1.40			
3. Mean word length	0.07			
4. Type-token ratio	0.05			
5. Tempo - words per second				
of total time	3.02			
of message time		4.35		
6. Mean T-unit length	1.80			
7. Repeats - total				21.15
Seconds of total time per	1.80			
Seconds of mess. time per	1.83			
Words per	1.81			
8. Structure errors - total		5.21		
Seconds of total time per			9.28	
Seconds of mess. time per			10.75	
Words per			12.81	
9. Pronun. errors - total		5.42		
Seconds of total time per			7.42	
Seconds of mess. time per			11.27	
Words per			12.46	
10. Physical Interfer. - total	1.28			
Seconds of total time per	0.003			
Seconds of mess. time per	0.56			
Words per		4.72		
11. Semantic load - total points	0.01			
Seconds of total time per	0.31			
Seconds of mess. time per	0.15			

of lost time, another tempo measure, and words per structure error approach significance. None of the other measures prove to be significant.

Because the lack of consistency seems in large part to be caused, or at least encouraged, by the considerable differences in the segments for mathematical computations compared to the narrations, it has seemed worthwhile to calculate significance figures for the first four segments alone, excluding the arithmetic segments. Even higher F ratios are needed to prove significance when twenty per cent of the segments are removed, but as chart 7 shows, significance ratings are indeed affected.

Chart 7 maintains the high significance of the total number of repeats, but again when prorated, these lose significance. But structure errors and pronunciation errors achieve significance in the prorated categories, which introduces a welcome note of stability into the calculations. Tempo measures are downgraded as is the measure of words per occurrence of a physical interference, a result that even so continues to be puzzling.

Perhaps, in view of the limited amount of data, different kinds of analysis could be made. Figures were available to do a t-test for the measure of T-unit length, which did show significance at the .05 level. (t = 2.82 with df = 300. Calculated for total T-units, 126 in English [mean 14.6560, standard deviation 5.9913] and 176 in Spanish [mean 12.0380, standard deviation 4.3308].) Similar counts could be made for repeats, errors, and interference phenomena, and it is very likely different results would be produced.

If further analysis does not yield more significant differences, it may be that the analysis indicates that the subject of the study is very near the pivot point in his control of two languages; that he is relatively close to being a balanced bilingual.

COMMENTS AND GENERALIZATIONS

While the present study is not fully conclusive, especially as shown in the analysis of variance, there are tendencies that are not without interest. Also there are certain points which can be made with some confidence. One is that pronunciation is not directly related to fluency (or, I assume, to communicative competence). It has long been noted that very fluent and articulate speakers of a language may speak with a heavy accent, which though it marks them as non-native, does not notably affect their ability to communicate orally (especially once their listeners accommodate to regular sound substitutions). This category of second-language speaker was informally identified in the testing program for Foreign Service Officers in the Department of State as "fluent but lousy." Highly proficient pronunciation does not seem to be an indispensable skill for oral communication, and support for this conclusion was unexpectedly provided by the present study.

Another conclusion that seems justified is that domains can be important in the linguistic performance of a bilingual. This is conclusively shown by the various measures that compare arithmetical computation skills in English and Spanish with other recordings. Perhaps in view of the limited and specialized vocabulary needed for general mathematics, and the relative independence of computational logic, mathematics can be seriously considered as a "second-language" subject in programs where it is felt that a content area should be taught in the second language.

An interesting question that arises in almost any error analysis, especially of oral material, is how to distinguish performance from competence errors since both can be observed only in performance. In other words, which errors are merely slips and which genuinely reflect a limited capacity. It seems to me that the only certain distinguishing criterion is the ability to correct, to edit out the error, by the speaker on his own initiative. We have proof that a mistake is in the realm of performance if an unsolicited correction is made, but if the error stands, we cannot be sure it is not a competence error. Another useful kind of evidence is lack of consistency: if a structure is used many times, but incorrectly only one of those times, it can probably be assumed that the error is in performance. This means that intensive observation would be necessary to confidently classify language behavior that is suspect or erratic.

A related problem, it seems to me, is the interpretation of data where two languages seem to be mixed: is any instance a case of switching or borrowing. If a correction is made, it was clearly switching; if not, it could have been a loan. In the data for the present study, the speaker's Spanish appears to be subjected to heavy English influence. In segment IB the speaker refers to an examination (high school equivalency) that he took as the "GED." He is speaking in Spanish, but the term is pronounced /jîy ìy díy/. Even though this item appears with an English pronunciation, not incorporated into Spanish phonology, I would classify it as a loanword. But in segment VB the speaker twice corrects a slip: "nueve times tres" is immediately changed to "nueve por tres." There are of course several loanwords which are completely accommodated to Spanish pronunciation (gasolín, contribudor, Mexico-Americano) as well as some that are not (GED, hijacking).

The questions listed at the beginning of this article have not been adequately answered. Consequently it is virtually impossible to generalize on the basis of the analysis and interpretation of data presented. Only 34 minutes of tape time with approximately 3600 words are studied. Perhaps this is too little. In any case, studies of other speakers would have to be done to gather base line information about what to expect from different kinds of bilingual speakers. And when we feel we have some understanding of how Spanish-English bilinguals perform, it will be time to consider combinations of other languages, especially combinations of languages that are not closely related as are English and Spanish. The study of bilingualism, using techniques such as those employed in the project discussed, is just beginning.

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A Language Experiment in California: Student, Teacher, Parent, and Community Reactions after Three Years

Andrew D. Cohen and Susan M. Lebach

The Culver City Spanish Immersion Program is a pioneer project in American public-school education. Modeled after the St. Lambert French Immersion Program in Montreal, Canada (Lambert and Tucker, 1972), Anglo children were immersed exclusively in Spanish in their kindergarten year. Previous reports have presented the findings over the first two years (Campbell, 1972; Cathcart, 1972; Cohen, Fier, and Flores, 1973; Broadbent, 1973; Flores, 1973; Cohen, 1974). This report deals with the Immersion Program as of March of the third year (1973-74), with the project children in kindergarten through second grade.

In February, 1974, a series of interviews were conducted with project teachers, the children, and the parents. 12 second graders were interviewed in English on an individual basis. (No younger children were interviewed for fear that they would not yet be old enough to articulate their reactions and attitudes effectively.) The three teachers were interviewed as a group during two one-hour tape-recorded sessions. A total of 29 families, having 31 children in the Immersion classes--spread rather evenly over all three grade levels (and representing about half of the total families with children in the project), filled out questionnaires. Most parents filled out the questionnaires during a project meeting at school.

The questionnaires were designed to tap basic feelings--to get at "gut reactions." Many questions were purposely left open-ended in order to attract free-ranging types of answers. We had more of an interest in assessing what the participants really felt, rather than in channeling their responses into our own neat categories. The questionnaires in their entirety, along with complete data tabulations, will appear in Lebach (forthcoming). The following discussion will concentrate on a few basic issues, drawing on data from the children's, the parents', and the teachers' responses, as well as on data previously acquired. The issues are posed as questions:

(1) How did the children, teachers, and parents adjust to the Spanish Immersion Program?
(2) What can be said about the children's learning of Spanish language skills--listening, speaking, reading, and writing?
(3) Do the Anglo children in the project actually use Spanish?
(4) What has been the program's effects on attitudes toward Spanish?

How did the children, teachers, and parents adjust to the Spanish Immersion Program?

The 12 second graders were asked if they were frightened in kindergarten when the teacher spoke only Spanish at them. 9 said "no," while 3 said "yes." The children who said they were frightened in kindergarten were only frightened for a day. One student commented, "I thought, 'How am I gonna learn that?' ...Just for a day...When they called my name, I thought they said, 'he's stupid'" (Esteban is Spanish for his name, Stephan). Two children said they were frightened at the beginning of first grade because they had to get used to the new teacher.

The teachers were asked, "Do you pretend not to understand the children's English (i.e., sticking to the guise of being monolingual Spanish speakers), or do you react to English?" The kindergarten teacher said that at first she did pretend not to understand English, but that there were misunderstandings with the children and complaints from parents. So, she switched to reacting to English, repeating what was said only in Spanish. The first-grade teacher said that she doesn't understand English in class--that the learners need the frustration to help them learn. She remarked that if they knew she understood English, they would speak it--perhaps exclusively. In moments of crisis, she gets a native Spanish speaker with some English skill to repeat an Anglo child's English message to her in Spanish.

The teachers expressed their preference for using only Spanish in the classroom as opposed to switching back and forth from Spanish to English, as in the bilingual education project in which she had previously taught. It appears that the constant switching process, whether word for word, sentence for sentence, paragraph for paragraph, or whatever, can be fatiguing, as well as being the cause of translation errors (both ways: from the stronger to the weaker language of the teacher and vice versa, assuming the teacher is not a completely balanced bilingual in all school subject areas).

All the teachers reported speaking Spanish at a normal conversational speed, right from the children's first exposure to Spanish in kindergarten. They did not adjust their speed for the Anglo child. They simply acted as if the youngsters were native speakers of the language--hence, no Spanish-as-a-second-language drills. The kindergarten teacher commented, "If we kept on thinking about somebody not understanding our Spanish, we'd be more likely to give up on someone." The kindergarten teacher was asked when she felt that the children began to understand what she was saying. She responded that they began to understand right away. She felt that the children responded to instructions and to language related to their basic needs quickly. The first-grade teacher said that the children came to school with stored knowledge from kindergarten and by the end of grade 1 understood almost everything--e.g., jokes and the teachers' conversations among themselves. The second-grade teacher said that sometimes the children would have difficulty understanding some particular thing. If so, another student would help (either Anglo or native Spanish-speaking) or the teacher would give assistance.

The teachers were also asked whether certain students had greater facility in understanding and speaking Spanish. (Current research with the St. Lambert project in Canada is finding that even the children with so-called "language difficulties" are functioning perfectly well in the French immersion program there; see Bruck and Rabinovitch, 1974.) The kindergarten teachers agreed that the more verbal, aggressive children had an advantage in both understanding and speaking Spanish. However, they regarded this advantage as only temporary. The teachers agreed that by the end of kindergarten all students were saying words and phrases in Spanish and that the first and second graders were all able to communicate effectively in Spanish, regardless of their grammatical difficulties (see previously cited research reports for more on grammatical errors, as well as Cohen, forthcoming).

The parents of children in the Immersion Program were asked whether their children ever complained about having all their instruction in Spanish and whether any ever asked to leave the program. 4 of the 29 families interviewed (14%) noted that their children had complained initially. One mother mentioned that at times her child complained of confusion and of misunderstanding what was said in class. 6 families (21%) reported that their children asked to leave the program. 4 families said that their children complained only during the first week of kindergarten. One child was told by his parents to give it one more year and now doesn't want to leave. Two students complained during the first two weeks of first grade, apparently because of adjustment problems with the new teacher. (At that time, kindergarten was conducted in a separate building from first grade.) One child apparently is still complaining to his parents about troubles in understanding the teacher.

It should be pointed out that attrition from the program is similar to attrition in conventional classrooms and also that there doesn't seem to be any correspondence between trouble adjusting to the program and attrition from it. Some of the best students have left, and some of those having difficulties (in whatever area, e.g. Spanish, English reading) have continued on, at the request of the parents and the children.

The parents were also asked whether they perceived their children to have any problems with English. 7 (24%) said "yes," 3 noting problems in speaking and following oral instructions and 4 in reading and writing. Several parents mentioned that their children were slower in English reading than children in the all-English class. One of these pointed out that she was aware that English reading was not part of the first-grade curriculum. One parent mentioned that her child was sometimes frustrated in English when he couldn't say what he wanted to. Most of the parents didn't seem to be worried about their children's proficiency in English. One parent mentioned that her child was doing better in English than she had expected.

One family reported that their child asked them whether he could also learn Spanish like some of his friends in the Spanish kindergarten. The child's mother commented, "I was not real sure but (my son) was persistent. For three weeks he kept on asking to go into the program. Finally, my husband and I talked to (the principal), observed the classroom, and talked to his kindergarten teacher to see if he could handle a second language. He is doing beautifully." When the anecdote was reported, the student was already in grade 1. Another child now in grade 2 reported to the interviewer, "I was the one who chose to be in this class. My Mom and Dad asked me what I wanted and I said 'Spanish'!"

Rather than being worried about their children losing English, most of the parents are concerned that the extent of Spanish-medium instruction be decreased too rapidly. The parent questionnaire contained the following item:

> The Culver City Spanish Immersion Program is similar to a French Immersion Program in Canada. In the Canadian program, slightly more than 50% of the curriculum is taught in English by the seventh grade. Do you think the amount of English in the Spanish Program should also increase? Yes ____ No ____ At what rate? Why?

Eight families (27%) said that English should be increased. The reasons they gave included the following:

> English is difficult.
> Because the child should also learn to speak his first language well.
> The child needs a certain amount of English reading and math rather than waiting until grade 2.
> After the Spanish is firmly established, I think it only needs to be reinforced one or two hours a day.

13 families (45%) said "no" -- that English shouldn't be increased. They gave the following reasons:

> The children are not falling behind in English. Therefore don't increase English.
> They shouldn't increase English until my child is fluent in Spanish.
> At least 60% should be in Spanish because the child gets English outside of class. Most subjects could be taught and understood by the children in both languages.
> More English would make the program fail.
> Children need to maintain a 50% Spanish-50% English balance in order for them to become truly bilingual.
> As much Spanish as possible. English can be picked up more easily when a child is exposed to another language.

28% of the families didn't respond, perhaps not wishing to make projections into the future.

Parents were also asked about other people's opinions regarding the program, as expressed to them. 13 families (45%) reported that the comments of others were favorable, for example, "It's good to learn Spanish, especially through immersion," "Great!" and "We want it in other schools." 4 families (14%) reported others as being uncertain--not sure about what the child might be missing in English reading and writing by being in the Immersion Program. 5 families (17%) reported negative responses from others, such as "I don't understand the program," "The class sizes are uneven," and "Children should be taught in their first language first, then in another language." 24% of the families either had no comments from others or at least refrained from mentioning them.

What can be said about the children's learning of Spanish language skills--listening, speaking, reading, and writing?

When asked whether they understood everything in Spanish when their teacher or native Spanish-speaking peers talked to them, 3 of the Anglo children replied that they had no trouble, 8 said they had a little trouble, and 1 reported a lot of trouble. Those who said they had trouble qualified their remarks by pointing out that they really only had trouble when their teacher spoke very quickly. They said that they didn't have trouble understanding their Spanish-speaking classmates on the whole. One girl mentioned occasionally having problems with classmates, too. Probably the teachers speak Spanish with patterns that are characteristically different from those of the native Spanish-speaking children. (This difference between adult talk and child language is just beginning to be investigated at the St. Lambert Immersion Program; see Bruck *et al.*, 1973.) Even if the adult teachers do not speak with *less* redundancy (*e.g.*, false starts, repetitions, etc.), they all the same *use* more sophisticated structures, longer sentences, etc., than do the children, although no rigorous account of differences has yet been undertaken. It somehow stands to reason that children should understand the talk of their peers more easily than that of adults--even if it is in another language.

As for whether they can say things more easily in Spanish or English, 2 children said "Spanish," 3 said "both the same," 6 said "English," and one didn't comment. It was not an easy question for them to answer. Many of the children kept changing their minds. One student commented, "It's hard to tell." Another said, "I talk both languages good." 2 mentioned that they had an easier time speaking English because they learned it first and knew more words. Only one child said, "I hate speaking Spanish." Emotional problems aside, suffice it to say that the student does speak Spanish and doesn't want to leave the program.

While 11 of the 12 children admitted having some difficulty speaking Spanish, none expressed particular frustration at their weaknesses. They said that vocabulary was their biggest problem, although one child also indicated awareness of his grammatical problems. He remarked, "Whenever I want to say *comer*, I say *comerla*, and that's not right."

The children were also asked whether they could read and write better in Spanish or in English. As for reading, 10 said they read Spanish betber, one said "both the same," and one said "English." The following are three comments in favor of Spanish reading and one in favor of English:

> In English you can't sound them (the words) out that good, but in Spanish you just know everything.
> In Spanish it's more easier to pronounce.
> I read better in Spanish because the words are easier to sound.
> English reading is better because I can read faster.

6 felt they wrote better in Spanish, 2 said "the same in both," and 4 said "in English." Reasons for feeling they wrote better in Spanish included,

"It's easier," "I know how to sound 'em out," and "The spelling is easier." The following were some of the remarks expressed by those who felt they wrote better in English:

> I practice English writing at home.
> Spanish words are so long.
> I know more words in English.
> I know English just a little better.

The second-grade teacher, who now teaches both Spanish and English reading to the students, reported that the students were reading at the same level in Spanish and English and that they seemed to enjoy both equally. She reports that they make the transfer to English reading in second grade without much effort. She remarked, "Let them get one (reading system) down pat...they will transfer it." The first-grade teacher had an anecdote about just how effortless the transfer can be. One first-grade student (having received no *English* reading instruction in school) read 75 pages in English to his mother one day after school. She asked him, "Where did you learn to read?" "In school, my teacher taught me how to read in school," he replied. Yes, his teacher had taught him how to read, but in Spanish. Hence, the child was transferring the reading strategies acquired for Spanish reading to reading in English and was unaware that the fact that he was reading in a different language was anything unusual.

The first year of the project, the parents were told not to teach English reading to their children at home, but there was always the ubiquitous *Sesame Street* TV program and English reading materials around the home. 12 of the recently-interviewed families mentioned that they *did* teach their children to read in English at home.

When the teachers were queried about the children's writing ability, the second-grade teacher (the only one whose students write in both languages in class) felt that the students wrote at the same level in both Spanish and English. While the children's spelling was apparently better in Spanish, she felt that their grammatical and mechanical errors were comparable in the two languages. She commented that the students were equally willing to write in both Spanish and English.

The teachers were also asked about when and how they corrected pronunciation and grammar errors. The kindergarten teacher said that she didn't really correct the children. She said that in the first year of the project she corrected very little. She decided to make some use of corrected repetition to eradicate certain initial learner errors that cropped up the first year, such as *mi* for *yo*--e.g., *mi quiero agua* instead of *yo quiero agua*. The teacher has the child mimic the correct form, but only on a limited basis. More importantly the kindergarten children have been in contact with native Spanish-speaking first and second graders, as well as with first and second-grade Anglos who are more fluent in Spanish than they (since a transfer of rooms in January of 1974). Hence, the kindergarten children had other models besides the teacher, and not surprisingly, the kindergarten teacher reported that they were more advanced in their oral

Spanish than the last two years' groups had been at this point in the academic year.

The first-grade teacher said that if a student made a pronunciation error, she would have him repeat the correct form. If the child were communicating, she would not interrupt him. If he were engaged in a directed oral activity with her, she would correct him and have him repeat the corrected form. In written work, she said she corrected the individual and explained the grammatical point to him. She was quick to point out that she very rarely had classroom drills (as with a Spanish-as-a-second-language approach). She would only have such a "drill" in the form of a game --e.g., a child matches an appropriate definite article to a noun: el + carro, la + casa. She reported trying to drill verb forms once but that the students "were bored stiff."

The second-grade teacher reported using a minimum of structural drilling. She would correct the students but felt it unnecessary to point out to them why they were wrong. She felt that they were able to understand why certain forms were erroneous.

When the teachers were asked about the general advantages of immersing an Anglo child in Spanish in order to give him skills in a foreign language, the second-grade teacher responded that there wasn't enough tape on the recorder to take down all that the teachers wanted to say. Then she commented, "A child can learn a foreign language with no sweat whatsoever and no suffering. On the contrary, the Spanish flows. It's part of their lives." The kindergarten teacher said that in comparison to Anglos in bilingual programs, "Our children are just so way ahead. Their Spanish is superior. Just everything is better. In bilingual programs, the kids have trouble answering, '¿Cómo te llama?'" The first-grade teacher added, "They don't have to work at speaking to you in Spanish. It just comes out."

Do the Anglo children in the project actually use Spanish?

The Anglo children in second grade reported on their language use at school and out of school. In class, they said that they used both Spanish and English when they were speaking to their Anglo classmates. They said they spoke Spanish to those Spanish-speaking classmates who had trouble with English. There were no particular things that they said in either Spanish or English. One student said he spoke English "when (he) gets carried away." They said that when the teacher was nearby, they would switch to Spanish if they were speaking English. They reported speaking English during recess, lunch, and English reading. One student mentioned that "sometimes during recess, it pops right at me in Spanish."

The teachers reported that the children used only Spanish in the classroom, with occasional accidental slips into English. The interviewer (Lebach) observed that children used Spanish and English in free variation in the classroom.[1] Since the interviewer observed that the children switch automatically into Spanish whenever their teacher approached and the children themselves confirmed this behavior, it is understandable that the teachers would be less aware of English use in the classroom than would the children or outside observers. However, the very fact that the Anglo children use Spanish with each other in class at least a good percent of the time is in itself a significant finding. As mentioned in Cohen (1974), the English-Canadian students in the French Immersion program in Montreal, Canada, speak almost exclusively in English to each other and in French only to the teachers. Furthermore, there are only one or two native French-speaking children in their immersion classrooms.

Out of class, 7 of the 12 Culver City Anglos (58%) reported playing with friends who were native Spanish speakers (although getting the concept of "native" across was difficult). When the 7 were asked whether they spoke Spanish or English with these friends, 5 said they spoke English, one said "Spanish," and one said "both." The child who spoke only Spanish said it was because the neighbor was from Chile and didn't know any English. The child who spoke both Spanish and English said she did so with her babysitter who spoke both. Reasons that the children gave for speaking English with Spanish-speakers included the following:

> Because they're in an English class at school and so they speak English after school.
>
> Because I'm teaching them some things.

8 of the children expressed a desire to have more Spanish-speaking friends. One said that he liked to play with them better than with English-speaking kids. Another said he preferred the games that they played. 3 who said they did not want more Spanish-speaking friends said they preferred playing with English-speaking friends because they had enough of Spanish at school.

The children also reported using Spanish in other contexts. For instance, 11 of the 12 had been to restaurants where Spanish was spoken. 8 of them had actually spoken up in Spanish. One reported that he told the waiter, "Yo quiero un taco" and the waiter started responding in English, "O.K." and then in great surprise asked, "Hey, where did you learn your Spanish?" Another student spoke about her visits to a particular Mexican restaurant. She commented, "Everyone who knows that I speak Spanish adores me. I don't know why."

All but one student reported having watched Spanish TV, but none said they watched it frequently. One said he watched it when his Spanish friends were over, another said she watched it when her Spanish-speaking babysitter was there, and another said he watched it with his mother (who is Mexican American) and that he translated for his brother. 5 students felt that the speakers on Spanish programs were difficult to understand because they spoke too fast. One student (who grew up speaking only English, although his mother was Mexican American) insisted, "I can understand just as good as in English." Similarly, this student remarked that Spanish radio wasn't hard to comprehend. Only 3 other students reported listening to Spanish radio programs and 2 of them said that such programs were very difficult to understand. Half of the students said they had Spanish records which they listened to "often," and 7 said they had Spanish reading material at home which they read.

The parents were asked if their children used their Spanish out of school. 19 families (65%) said "yes." Those who said "yes" provided the following contexts for use (allowing for double counting since children from the same family might use Spanish in various situations):

Frequency	Contextual Situation
11	With family members
10	With family friends
6	With relatives
5	With neighbors
4	With employees

Three of the parents remarked that their children were particularly helpful at their place of employment. One father said that his son was very helpful in acting as interpreter in conversations with workers at his restaurant. He said that the workers were amazed and gratified to see a blonde Anglo 7-year old functioning in that capacity in Spanish. Almost all of the families (26 or 90%) reported taking their children to Spanish-speaking places like Olvera Street in East Los Angeles and to Spanish-speaking restaurants. Several commented on how their children would translate the menu and then order for the rest of the family. These remarks simply corroborate the statements that the children themselves made in their own interviews.

Parents were also asked whether they observed their children to have Spanish-speaking playmates out of school and the extent to which they conversed in Spanish. 13 of the families (45%) indicated that their children had Spanish-speaking friends. As to whether the children spoke Spanish together, 3 said "often," 7 said "sometimes," one said "rarely," one said "never," and one didn't know.

In a community like Culver City where native Spanish-speaking children are in the vast minority (even in the vicinity of the Linwood Howe School), the percent of Spanish-speaking contacts these Anglo children apparently have out of class is quite high. Cohen's experience with a federally-funded Title VII bilingual education program in Northern California (Cohen, 1972; Cohen, in press) was that Anglos didn't associate with Spanish speakers out of school. But then again, they didn't interact very much with Spanish speakers in class either, and their interactions both in and out of school were almost always in English. This behavior was attributable largely to the fact that the then second-grade Anglos in Redwood City hadn't learned Spanish well enough to speak it comfortably (after three years in a bilingual education program which used simultaneous translation in the classroom). As the second-grade Culver City teacher commented, "The automatic segregation that occurs in a bilingual program does not occur in our program. Anglo children and Spanish-speaking children are interacting. They are equals."

With respect to the 9 Spanish-speaking children who are currently in the program, the first-grade teacher commented that the Immersion Program gave them "a happy feeling about being in school, about being accepted." The second-grade teacher added, "(Being Spanish) is nice; it's a cool thing. They don't have to apologize for it."

What has been the program's effects on attitudes toward Spanish?

When the Anglo children were asked whether they liked to speak Spanish or English better, 4 said "Spanish," 7 said they liked to speak both the same, and one said "English." The majority just felt it "doesn't matter" which language they are speaking. When asked whether they liked to read in Spanish or English better, 3 said "Spanish," 3 said it was the same to them, 5 said "English," and one didn't comment. Those who said they preferred English reading had comments such as the following:

> Some of the (Spanish) words you don't know, and you don't know what happens.
>
> English reading is more fun and the stories are better.[2]
>
> Well, Spanish is pretty easy, but I've been born with English. I've been speaking English longer than Spanish.

When asked whether they wanted to keep on learning Spanish, all the students replied "yes," though two said they would like a little more English. One student first said "no," but when then asked if he wanted to stop tomorrow, he answered, "No, not tomorrow. When I'm in the fifth grade, I'll quit. Maybe I'll keep on 'til college." They all agreed that they were lucky to be in the Spanish class and would not like to be in an all-English class. One student had found out that there was opposition to the Spanish program's continued existence (at least at his school). He made the following unsolicited remark to the interviewer: "A group of mothers are trying to kick out the program, and they don't even have one!"

The children were also asked the new classic question (see, for example, Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Lambert and Tucker, 1972), "Why do you think it's good to learn a foreign language?" Their replies were as follows:

Frequency	Response
5	You can talk to people who don't understand you (in English) and you can understand them.
4	It's fun.
2	If you go there (Mexico), you can speak the language.
1	Cuz it's funnier if you get friends. Then you can speak that language...get friends from all over the world.
1	If you have a cousin who only speaks Spanish, you can speak to him.
1	So my sister can't understand me.

Many of the reasons given for learning a foreign language are what Gardner and Lambert (1972) would refer to as "integrative" or social in motivation, as opposed to "instrumental" or economic. The children had no thought of motives such as future job possibilities or enhanced personal status. For the most part, they were simply expressing a desire to meet and converse with other people, and people from other cultures and countries. There was, however, one instrumental motive expressed, namely that of being able to eliminate a sister from conversations, not a surprising comment for a second-grader to make.

10 of the 12 children interviewed expressed an interest in learning still *another* foreign language. One mentioned that she wanted to learn French to understand her French friends. Another wanted to be able to understand what her grandmother was saying when she poked fun at her in Chinese. Another said that he wanted to take Hungarian lessons on Saturdays so he could speak Hungarian with his Hungarian-speaking father.

The parents were also asked whether they thought that their children enjoyed speaking Spanish and whether they seemed proud of this accomplishment. 28 families responded affirmatively to both questions. One didn't comment. The parents tended to point to their children's use of Spanish at least occasionally in front of them--relating new words, stories, and songs that they had learned--as a measure of their enthusiasm and pride about the program.

When queried as to their primary reason for sending their children to the Immersion Program, parental responses were as follows (allowing for double counting):

Frequency	Reason
22 (76%)	To learn a foreign language.
13 (45%)	(Reasons with cultural emphasis.) It is important to understand another culture. All children should learn that cultural differences are not bad. We want our children to have a broadened outlook, not to be provincial.
13 (45%)	The program is valuable for the children's job opportunities.
9 (31%)	To learn Spanish specifically.
7 (24%)	The Immersion Program offers an intellectual challenge for students who might be bored in regular classes.

The parent data express both integrative and instrumental reasons for having their children learn a foreign language, but it would appear that the emphasis is on the integrative or cross-cultural side. In some cases, parental concern isn't even *cross*-cultural. There is concern for restoration of Spanish that was never learned in the home and a regained "pride in one's Spanish heritage," as one parent put it. One Anglo parent commented that "the (Anglo) Immersion Program children and their Spanish friends complement each other."

The teachers were also queried as to whether they thought the learners enjoyed speaking Spanish. The first-grade teacher summed it up as follows, "That's the beauty of the program. (The students) can not like reading, they can not like math, or they can not like anything they want. But they can't not like Spanish because it's what they learn in and not what they learn." The second-grade teacher reinforced this remark with, "They are not learning Spanish. They are learning academic courses." The kindergarten teacher pointed out that in bilingual programs (such as the one she worked in and had recently revisited), she observed the Anglo child put his fingers in his ears and say, "Oh no, it's Spanish time again."

It might be fair to say that if the foreign language is offered in too small a quantity and as an end in itself, student reaction will be more negative than if the language is the primary, or better, the exclusive vehicle for functioning in the classroom.[3] In support of this observation, research results from the St. Lambert project demonstrated that children not in the Immersion program, but rather in a foreign-language-in-the-elementary-school program which provided an hour or so of French a day, indicated that they didn't like French so much and wanted less of it. The English-Canadian children immersed in French education, on the other hand, wanted more instruction in French (Tucker, 1973).

As reported in Campbell, Taylor, and Tucker (1973), the St. Lambert project has had both favorable reactions from teachers involved in the program and unfavorable reactions from teachers not involved. The same may be said for the Culver City project. The parents and teachers involved have been enthusiastic about the program, and the children have developed positive attitudes toward the Spanish language and culture, toward foreign language learning, and toward education in general. Whereas this article has emphasized the positive results of the program, its continuation has been a topic of controversy among teachers, parents, and administrators not directly involved.

Among the issues still under debate are the following: the participation of other teachers in making decisions regarding the establishment and continuation of such a program, uneven pupil-teacher classroom ratios created by such an experimental program, the identification of procedures for selection of students into such a program, the specification of objectives for Spanish-speaking students participating in such a program, and the performance of Anglo participants in English language skills and subject areas such as math.

Perhaps controversy inevitably surrounds a pioneering effort in American education such as the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program. Rather than jeopardizing the continuation of this fledgling program, it is hoped that the current controversy will contribute to the program's growth by improving channels of communication within the school and surrounding community.

FOOTNOTES

[1] A more rigorous classroom observation instrument, adapted from Cohen, in press, has been piloted at the Immersion Program and will be administered in the near future; see Lebach, forthcoming.

[2] This comment probably reflects actual difficulties in obtaining stimulating stories in Spanish, mostly from lack of funds.

[3] This argument, however, should not be applied to minority group children in the U.S. for a variety of reasons (see Bowen, forthcoming).

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SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS IN TEACHING MINORITY GROUPS: ATTITUDES*

Robert D. Wilson

I know better than to tell you that I will speak about attitudes. It sounds so much like platitudes. And yet, at the risk of turning you off, I will speak about attitudes for in actual teaching practice it is attitudes that largely determine the methodology that a teacher takes in dealing with the challenge of teaching minority groups.

I have selected three attitudes which, in my opinion, are necessary, and basic, and apparently not widely or often recognized. If I am right, then there is something for you to learn this morning, something that could bear fruit, something that you cannot afford to do without.

The three attitudes are, first, I see before me a different student; second, I have before me an impossible situation; third, I hold before me the hope of a remedy. A little reflection will persuade you that these attitudes are reasonable ones. It is reasonable to observe that before me is a different student. He has a different color, he has a different language, he has a different set of cultural values, and he quite likely has a different standard of living --- different from that to which the school is geared to make of him: a citizen who carries his own weight, a citizen who contributes to the general good, a citizen who appreciates being an American. It is also reasonable to observe that the situation before us is an impossible one. I am one teacher against the prejudices of the majority of this society, prejudices that have been nurtured for several generations. I am one teacher in a school that recognizes only English as the only language worth speaking, and in a school whose very rules often speak against the cultural values that the students bring with them. I am one teacher in a school that is poor because its tax base is poor, without funds to provide an appropriate curriculum for my minority students, without funds to provide special training for me, and many times without funds even to provide for the necessities of running a school. And finally, it is reasonable to expect nothing more than a remedy: remedial programs in language, reading, composition; field trips and class projects that provide an ego trip to the students as a bandaid to the prejudices they have suffered in this society; and remedial schooling so he can get a job and keep it --- any job, not the best job, just any job --- at least he will be able to protect his pride against the welfare insult.

But being reasonable is not good enough. What is needed is a businesslike attitude to this business of teaching. To respect the customer, to accept the situation, and to believe that whether selling toothpaste or human potential, this is the best possible thing for me to do.

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*This is an extract from a lecture given at UCLA in October, 1973.

What I am suggesting, instead, in terms of approach, is to teach to the similarities rather than to the differences, and to teach to the given situation rather than to a wished-for situation, and to teach to the multicultural idea rather than to a remedial compromise.

What does it mean to teach to the similarities? It means to trigger and to develop the human abilities that my minority students have in common with all other humans, with all other students. They are abilities that include observation, classification, inference, induction, deduction, calculated guessing, decision making, aesthetic pleasure, sexual feelings, strength, flexibility, speed, endurance, and perhaps, above all, patience with teachers like me. True, there are problematic differences that cannot be ignored. They are part of the definition of the pedagogical challenge. There is prejudice against people who look different. There is difficulty for a student who has to learn English as a second language. There is adjustment for a student who has to behave within the Anglo cultural environment. There are material wants, even needs, that hurt all the more to the poor who live in an affluent society. All of these differences my methodology must take account of, but must my teaching dwell upon these differences? Make my students self-conscious about them? Create an atmosphere in my class that will engender self-pity, self-defeat, and eventually, "I-don't-give-a-damn"? No. Rather, accentuate the positive.

And to teach to the similarities in the language arts is to teach my minority students to read and understand what they can say; I don't expect American students to read and understand anomie and pentimento. It means that in composition I would expect my minority students to write very well about living in a Navajo hogan or about practicing the martial arts of Kung Fu. In speech, I expect my minority students to be articulate in their own language, but less than fluent in English; I don't expect any less from American students when they speak their native language and I don't expect any more from American students when they are learning a foreign tongue. It means that my foreign students will prefer to listen, and listen long and hard, until they become familiar with and confident in speaking the English language; I don't suddenly expect American students to start speaking mathematics or physics without spending a lot of time in listening to mathematics and physics, becoming familiar and gaining confidence.

To teach similarities means that in teaching English to my minority students I will realize that they, too, like all others, were born with an innate capacity to learn a language just like a bird is born to fly. The important difference is not between his language and English but the distance between his dormant ability to learn a language and my ability to trigger and develop his ability. How do I prevent him from using his language as a base for learning the second? How do I get him to see that English, like his language, is a language, a self-contained language, one that he could easily learn if he allowed his innate ability to learn a language to take over? How can I get him to listen to English and associate it with behavior - without his language intervening? How can I get him to manipulate English in more and more complex relationships per unit of time so that in the speed with which he must manipulate English he must think directly in English?

So far I have delineated the attitude of teaching to similarities as one of recognition of the minority student as a person, a person with potential like any other human, a person with an innate ability to learn a language, just like any other human. But to teach similarities is also to teach to the minority student as a student, like any other student. And he is a student simply and only because of the very fact he is in my class. He is my student. I am sure we don't have to be warned against discriminating against him, but have you considered the possibility that it could be almost as harmful to discriminate for him? I can hear an articulate minority student praying, "Deliver me, O lord, from this teacher who loves me, who leans back for me, who gives me an extra chance, and in who doing so insults me. Deliver me, O Lord, from this teacher who is so overjoyed when I do give a correct response that she screams her delight to the class---and embarrasses me---for why should she be surprised?" All that the minority student, like any other student, asks for is to believe that he has a secure place in the mind and heart of the teacher. Secure---a guarantee that nothing, but nothing, will threaten that security---not failure to succeed, not failure to behave, not failure to conform, nothing. Such a feeling of security does not occasion remarks like "The teacher doesn't like to call on me" nor the compulsive "Teacher likes to call on me first". Appreciate the challenge of these remarks, considering that even some of the best intentioned teachers fall into patterns of calling on mostly one category of pupils in the class. For example: mostly the brightest pupils or mostly the slowest ones because the teacher likes to provide challenge; mostly the best behaved ones or mostly the most troublesome because the teacher means to keep control; mostly the well-adjusted or mostly the maladjusted because the teacher wishes to be a parent. The challenge from the minority student is like the challenge from all students: "Call on me to participate on the same chance that anyone and everyone of my classmates has. Do not select among us, not even me, on the basis of any criterion whatsoever. Don't make me dependent on any criterion for a place in your mind and heart. Such dependency makes me insecure, distracting me from the objective of the lesson, from learning, and eventually from caring about learning---caring, and attending, only to the criterion you have set up in place of learning."

Let us now turn to teaching to a given situation. What does it mean to teach to a given situation? It means to accept the impossible situation: the prejudices pressing against your students, the threat of English to your student's native language, the school rules that are insensitive to his culture, the lack of school funds and the waste of school funds---a list to which you can add many more, I am sure. And in accepting the impossible situation, you accept the impossible responsibility of the impossible dream: to teach your students to harbor no prejudice themselves, to learn English while keeping their familiarity with their native language, to adopt new cultural ways without losing their own, and do all these in a school damaged by earthquake, in a room cold in winter, with textbooks scribbled over, with chalk that crumbles, tape recorders that rarely work---without enough time to prepare a really good lesson, or go carefully over all the students' assignments, and give that personal touch to each and everyone.

Why accept the situation? Because you are a teacher. If you were a social worker, a political leader, a schoolboard member, or a school administrator, you would and you should change the situation. You could take these roles, say that of a political leader, and in that role you would do something about the situation. But in your role as a teacher, your job is to teach. Get on with it. Don't let anything keep you from it. The postman has his code of hail, heat, and snow and the doctor his Hippocratic oath; yours is the greatest commitment of all: learning---the ability to adapt, the biologists would say---without which the human species could not survive. Beside this commitment all the annoyances and the obstacles of the situation pale and fade away. There is a reward, a reward that goes to the teacher who teaches, whether in Beverly Hills or in Watts. To the teacher whose students believe his teaching goes the reward of students who will learn. The teacher must be credible, consistently credible, one who is so confident in her techniques that she consistently expects learning as the appropriate interpretation of all her teaching, who emphasizes the importance of learning, underlining it with talent, effort, time and sincerity. There is no better way to keep students hooked on learning.

Turning now to the third attitude, what does it mean to teach to the multi-cultural ideal? It means for you to believe that the best possible thing for your minority students, and consequently the best possible thing for you to be engaged in, is to help him take advantage of his good fortune, the good fortune of having the opportunity to become a bicultural person. This opportunity needs to catch your imagination. Consider what one culture does for an individual, and I quote Jerome Bruner: "Insofar as man's powers are expressed and amplified through the instruments of culture, the limits to which he can attain excellence of intellect must surely be as wide as are the culture's combined capabilities."[1] Imagine, now, what two cultures could do for the individual, for your minority student. Just imagine it. It boggles the mind.

But even more exciting is that this opportunity to become bicultural provides an even more promising opportunity---and one within your reach. Consider, then, the rare opportunity for your minority students, in becoming bicultural, to perceive not just the differences between the two cultures but the deep similarities as well. Similarities like hunger and thirst, warmth and cold, feeling and thinking, imagining and wishing and dreaming as well as walking, talking and learning, not to mention clothes and home, and food and drink. Upon this awareness, they just might wonder if the similarities aren't accidental, that perhaps, just perhaps, the similarities reflect genuine human values. And one day someone will make a chance remark, perhaps you yourself, "We are all brothers under the skin," a cliche, nothing more; but your minority students, now a little grown, will read wisdom into it.

FOOTNOTE

[1] Bruner, Jerome S. et al (1966), Studies in Cognitive Growth, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., p. 326.

SOME EVIDENCE FOR THE PREDICTIVE VALIDITY OF THE ESLPE

Earl Rand

INTRODUCTION

The UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) has never been validated in terms of its accuracy in placing foreign students in required English service courses (English 832, 33A, B, and C). The purpose of this study is to report on a preliminary validation of the ESLPE, Winter 1974 version (W74). It attempts to answer the questions: How well did W74 place students in ESL service courses? What are the strong, weak, and overlapping items and subtests of W74? Finally, what directions for further research and development could be undertaken with tests like W74?

BACKGROUND

The ESLPE, in various versions, has been the object of much research. No study, however, has asked: How valid is the ESLPE in predicting the class placement of foreign students into service courses at UCLA? Much previous research has been devoted to how well the subparts of the test correlate with other subparts and how well this evidence supports a theory called "pragmatics" (Oller and Richards, 1973), regarding the English linguistic behavior of foreign students. Oller's research has shown, as one would expect, that one general measure, for example, dictation, correlates higher with another general measure, say, the cloze technique, than it would with a measure of a more specific objective such as grammar. This issue has been discussed in the last two Workpapers in TESL (Cohen, 1973, Oller, 1973, and Rand, 1972 and 1973). Other research has focused on how well the ESLPE correlates with other measures, e.g., interviews (Connolly, 1972), judgements of nativeness (Browning, forthcoming), and grade point average (Goldman, 1972). Connolly reported that the 1971 ESLPE did correlate rather well with interview ratings, and Goldman (1972, p. 26) found that although it did correlate with GPA, the correlations ($r=0.08$ to 0.21) were too low to be of much value. Browning's study showed that the ability to judge accents correlated 0.61 with the Fall 1973 ESLPE.

Validating a test means a number of things to different people. For some, it means making sure that the content of the test matches the content of the domain being measured. For others, it means to understand what abilities a test is measuring, i.e., to determine "the degree to which certain explanatory concepts or constructs account for performance on the test" (French and Michael, p. 13). No one would deny that, in the final analysis, it is crucial to understand what qualities a test measures.

But in the practical situation of placing students in a long, expensive academic program, a placement test must effectively serve its primary purpose, i.e., the test must effectively assign students to classes. One must ask: How well do teachers think the students are placed? And how well do the students themselves feel they are placed? A test with high predictive validity will do this job accurately (Kerlinger, Chapter 27; Cronbach, p. 484).

THE TEST

ESLPE W74

The ESLPE W74, designed and developed by Dr. A. Cohen (Cohen, 1974), consists of seven subtests and a section designed to obtain some biographical information. The subtests total 130 points. Only 95 items, however, can be computer analyzed.

The six types of subtests were:

GRAMMAR ONE (G1) 15 points -- fifteen three or four-alternative multiple-choice items on typical foreign student difficulties, e.g., verb tense, some/any, negation.

GRAMMAR TWO (G2) 15 points -- fifteen underline errors and correction items typical of non-standard dialect problems, e.g., verb forms, double negatives. An example is: Bill didn't do nothing that was really bad.

CLOZE 25 points -- twenty-five systematically deleted items in one paragraph about transportation. Dr. Cohen intended to delete every 7th word. However, in an attempt to avoid repeating the same word or including too many articles or other function words, the items actually ranged from 5 to 8 words apart.

READING 20 points -- fifteen four-alternative multiple-choice items on three passages, each approximately 175 words long. The items were both discrete and general. The 5 items on the third passage (more difficult than the others) were given 2 points each, and these were the only weighted items on the test.

LISTENING 25 points -- twenty-five four-alternative multiple-choice items. Twenty items were based on 20 one-sentence cues. Three items were based on a ten-line dialogue and two items on a short lecture on ecology.

DICTATION ONE and TWO (D1 and D2) 15 points each -- two passages of about 125 words each. In the first, punctuation was given, but not in the second. D1 was scored only on the basis of structural correctness. D2 was scored for punctuation, spelling, and structure.

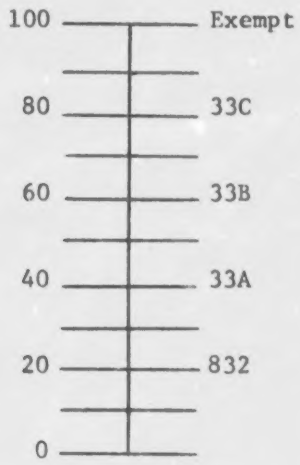
Placement into service courses was determined by the subtotal of 5 parts: G1, Cloze, Reading, Listening, and D1. Cutpoints were five points lower for graduate students. G2 and D2 were only used to help place students characterized as having "minority English" problems (Cohen, 1973.)

Subjects

Two hundred and four non-native prospective students took W74. For these 204, the answers to the objective sections (G1, G2, Reading, Listening, and Cloze - scored right/wrong) of 145 scripts were punched on IBM cards in January 1974 in order to compute an item and test analysis. Fifty-nine scripts were not punched because their total score was either very high or very low. Of these 204, almost 90 enrolled in ESL service courses at one of four levels, from beginner through high intermediate: English 832, 33A, 33B, and 33C.

Criterion of Placement Success

In April, teachers of the Winter 1974 ESL service courses were asked to indicate the placement of their new students on the following scale:



For example, a 33B teacher indicated where he felt his own new students, who had taken W74, would best be placed on this scale. If a certain student was just right for 33B, then he would be given 60 points. If, however, this student were rated higher than the ideal 33B student, he would then obtain more points, e.g., 65 or 70 or even 75. If the teacher felt that this particular student should have been placed in 33C, then he would be given 80 points. In other words, the teachers provided their estimate (a holistic rating) of the success of the ESLPE W74 version in placing their students.

The final sample included 75 tests with criterion and 77 without criterion.[2] Four other test scripts were punched, bringing the total sample up to 156. Some preliminary analyses were done, however, on the originally punched 145 cases.

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

The analysis has proceeded in three stages.[3] First, a general analysis of the original 145 cases was carried out in order to determine item, subtest, and overall characteristics. Veldman's TESTAT program (1967) was used to score the 95 items, and calculate correlation coefficients between items, tests, and subtests. Second, on the 75 cases with criterion scores, a Gulliksen item analysis with reliability and validity indices was computed (Gulliksen, 1950: Chapter 21), using Verhelst and Steele's program. With these statistics, the overall characteristics were again studied. First and second stage data was analyzed using ANOVA (BMDP7D), discriminant analysis (BMD05M), and multiple regression (*StatisticalPackage for Social Sciences*). At the third state, a factor analysis using Comrey's minimum residual method (Comrey, 1973: Chapter 4) and a varimax rotation were computed on the total 156 cases over the 95 items (Scored: 1=right; 0=wrong/omitted).

RESULTS

Step 1

The data from step 1 of the analysis indicated an overall reliability (for 95 items, excluding D1 and D2) of 0.91. No item could be immediately thrown out because of its low reliability index or because its point biserial correlation with the total score was negative. Using Gulliksen's variance-covariance procedure for eliminating items and recomputing the total test reliability, it was found that the test reliability could be maintained at 0.91 and yet the test length could be reduced by 13 items. The items were: 6 listening, 3 cloze, 2 reading, and 2 G1.

The five subtests differed in difficulty (G1 easiest, cloze most difficult), and this is reflected in Table I. One-way analyses of variance showed that the five subtests did not differ in mean correlation between the item and total score or in mean correlation between the item and the subtest score.

Table I

		Difficulty		$r_{\text{item-total}}$		$r_{\text{item-subtest}}$	
Subtest	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SC
G1	15	.79	.12	.31	.12	.43	.10
G2	15	.55	.17	.36	.09	.46	.09
Cloze	25	.39	.22	.36	.13	.42	.12
Reading	15	.62	.20	.31	.12	.41	.10
Listening	25	.53	.19	.28	.13	.36	.14
F=		11.16		1.79		2.05	
df=4,90							
Probability =		0.0000		0.14		0.09	

The scores on the subtests had the following means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations. N=152. It would be misleading to include correlations with the subtotal and total because the subtests were weighted in producing the total score, e.g., cloze received 25 points, but G1 only 15 points (see Rand, 1972, p. 70-1) and thus cloze should correlate higher than G1 does with the total score.

Table II

(see following page)

Step 2

The second stage involved the analysis of the 75 cases with criterion scores, i.e., teachers' ratings. Gulliksen's procedure was again employed, this time to determine validity indices for the 95 items and an index for the total test. This showed that the overall test correlated 0.85 with the external criterion. Possible reasons for W74's high index will be discussed below. The test could be improved by removing four items (all listening items) on the basis of low reliability and/or low validity.[4]

The subtests differed in a number of characteristics. As in step 1, they differed in difficulty. They also significantly differed ($P < .05$) in validity and in reliability, and this is difficult to explain. In this data, the indices on the 95 items are based on N=75, rather than N=145, as in step 1. Because these 75 are more in the middle of the range of scores, one would expect that the mean reliability and validity indices would not significantly differ as they had not differed in step 1, which is based on a larger, more heterogeneous sample.

Table III

		Difficulty		Reliability Index		Validity Index	
Subtest	N=	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
G1	15	.73	.14	.18	.06	.15	.06
G2	15	.45	.18	.20	.05	.17	.05
Cloze	25	.28	.19	.16	.10	.13	.08
Reading	15	.54	.18	.18	.07	.17	.07
Listening	25	.45	.18	.13	.08	.11	.07
F=		16.14		2.52		2.63	
df=4,90							
Probability=		0.0000		0.047		0.039	

Two other ANOVA's were calculated: (1) The five subtests significantly differed in mean correlation between subtest and criterion, ranging from .23 for listening and .35 for G1 and G2. (F=3.49, P=0.01.) (2) The mean correlation between items of a subtest and the subtest totals ranged from .36 for Listening to .46 for G2 (F=2.05, P=0.09.), i.e., the average correlation of a Listening item with the total score for the 25 Listening items was .36.

Table II

```
VARIABLE              MEAN        STANDARD DEV        CASES

G1                 11.6118              2.8819          152
G2                  7.8158              3.5086          152
CLOZE               9.1908              5.0661          152
READING            11.5461              4.2016          152
LISTEN             13.0263              4.5658          152
D1                  7.4539              4.9392          152
D2                  5.6842              4.7416          152


                G1          G2          CLOZE       READING     LISTEN      D1          D2

G1              1.00000     0.70875     0.57619     0.53228     0.50056     0.54890     0.50615
G2              0.70875     1.00000     0.64916     0.55584     0.51953     0.57541     0.57648
CLOZE           0.57619     0.64916     1.00000     0.64781     0.63423     0.72196     0.66171
READING         0.53228     0.55584     0.64781     1.00000     0.45838     0.57388     0.52430
LISTEN          0.50056     0.51953     0.63423     0.45838     1.00000     0.75389     0.70610
D1              0.54890     0.57541     0.72196     0.57388     0.75389     1.00000     0.86129
D2              0.50615     0.57648     0.66171     0.52430     0.70610     0.86129     1.00000
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Table IV

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VARIABLE              MEAN        STANDARD DEV        CASES

G1                 11.0400              3.0732           75
G2                  6.8133              3.6343           75
CLOZE               6.9200              4.6259           75
READING            10.4800              4.4672           75
LISTEN             11.3333              4.3163           75
D1                  5.5733              4.7082           75
D2                  3.9467              4.3864           75
CRITERIA           61.2133             20.6949           75


                G1          G2          CLOZE       READING     LISTEN      D1          D2          CRITERIA

G1              1.00000     0.77988     0.66278     0.59215     0.52975     0.52795     0.48536     0.69531
G2              0.77988     1.00000     0.69681     0.58160     0.46921     0.57418     0.53427     0.69247
CLOZE           0.66278     0.69681     1.00000     0.66956     0.55700     0.59779     0.58985     0.75835
READING         0.59215     0.58160     0.66956     1.00000     0.36093     0.52581     0.50477     0.73721
LISTEN          0.52975     0.46921     0.55700     0.36093     1.00000     0.71662     0.61692     0.61598
D1              0.52795     0.57418     0.59779     0.52581     0.71662     1.00000     0.80439     0.69635
D2              0.48536     0.53427     0.58985     0.50477     0.61692     0.80439     1.00000     0.65797
CRITERIA        0.69531     0.69247     0.75835     0.73721     0.61598     0.69635     0.65797     1.00000
```

The scores on the subtests, including the Criterion and D1 and D2, (based on N=75) have the following means, SD, and intercorrelations. Again, as indicated earlier, it would be misleading to include either subtotal or total scores because the scores are differentially weighted in computing the total (Rand, 1972, p. 70-71).

Table IV

(see previous page)

A multiple regression analysis showed that 71.6% of the variance in the validity criterion could be accounted for by three subtests: Reading, G1, and Listening. Adding G2, Cloze, D1, and D2 only increased the amount of variance accounted for by 4.7%, i.e., 76.3%. The standard errors are 11.25 and 10.59, respectively. This indicates that the validity criterion can be predicted about as well with those three subtests as with the total of seven subtests. These three subtests (G1, Reading, and Listening) had a multiple R of 0.846 with the criterion; all seven subtests had an R of 0.873.

Step 3

The third step attempts to study the question: Is there just one overall English competence factor, or can competence be subdivided into a number of components? To provide a partial answer a preliminary factor analysis was carried out of the 95 items on the test as answered by 155 prospective students (items scored 1=right, 0=wrong or omitted). The researcher terminated factor analysis at 15 factors and varimax rotated 5 factors. The rotated matrix showed that the five subtests tend to factor out separately. In spite of many inconsistencies, it appears that different subtests are factorially different. If this is so, then research can proceed in determining how many factors can be observed and in developing differential tests to measure these factors. Finally, placement can be made on the basis of a profile of subtest scores rather then overall total score.

DISCUSSION

A number of interesting conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, clearly W74 has been carefully planned and developed. Both the high reliability and high validity indices show this. The test seems to place students quite accurately into service courses. In fact, it does so well, that this research deserves replication. Obviously in any replication, one would include a measure of the reliability of the teachers' ratings.* In the current research, the validity criterions (holistic ratings) were collected over a month after the course had ended and the teachers may have leveled their opinion by that time. Thus, they may be unreliable. The teachers might have rated their "new " (in January) students quite differently had they been rating them during the final week of the course. Also holistic ratings may not be as revealing as separate ratings on separate skills. Finally, other views on what involves successful placement are current. Ratings should be, some educators believe, made in terms of measurable objectives (Popham, 1972). Unfortunately, explicit objectives do not exist for the service courses.

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*In this study, the first rating correlated .93 with a second rating obtained two weeks later.

Second, the test should be expanded to include other subtests rather than G2, D1, and D2 and the subtest on cloze. A set of three subtests predicts the criterion almost as well as does a set of all seven subtests. These three subtests (Reading, G1, and Listening) not only predict the criterion well but also have a high face validity and are easily and accurately scored. Thus, if the job can be done with three subtests, taking at most an hour and a half, then other measurement devices can be tried on an experimental basis. For example, Browning's data (forthcoming) tentatively indicates that the ability to rate the amount of foreign accent in English speech correlates favorably with the rater's own accent. Those students whose accents are rated more native can rate other accents more accurately than those students whose accents are rated less native. Another subtest could involve rhetoric and organization of academic writings.[5] An attitude/motivation instrument might also increase placement accuracy. The background information now collected along with other information, might serve as moderator variables and help in placement (Worell, 1959). Worell showed that motivation and study skills contributed very significantly in predicting academic success.

Third, affective aspects relating to student satisfaction with the test should not be neglected. Although not specifically studied, it seemed that the omission rate for subtests differed, with the Cloze subtest having the highest omission rate. The Listening subtest, on the other hand, was rarely omitted. For this reason, along with the reasons given in Footnote 4, the Listening subtest should be retained until it is proven less successful than other subtests. Besides, not only do more candidates attempt to answer the listening questions than cloze, but it also has greater face validity and is more easily scored than cloze and dictation. The new students feelings about the value of various subtests should also be ascertained. If they feel the test measures their ability correctly, they will be more satisfied with their placement and not be so anxious to ask for retesting and reasssignment from a lower to a higher level service course.

Fourth, the finding that different subtests seem to load on different factors points to an extremely interesting line of research: the statistical development of factorially homogeneous subtests. Some information about techniques in personality measurement may be necessary to understand this. Briefly, for years many psychologists doubted that human personality could be measured quantitatively. They claimed that personality was too complex and dynamic to be described with numbers. In certain respects, this may be so. But for practical purposes, great strides have been made in measuring personality characteristics by using a statistical factor analytic approach. In fact, not only are these personality factors valid for one culture, but they appear to be valid for cultures as diverse as American, Brazilian, and Italian.* If this approach, involving the isolation of homogeneous factors and measuring them as groups or sets, is valid for an area as complex as personality, it may also seem to be very promising for the study of language achievement. The technology is available, and should be applied to the field of ESL testing (Dahl, 1971).

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*(Rodriguez and Comrey, 1974)

CONCLUSIONS

The Winter 1974 version of the English as a Second Language Placement Examination appears to have done a good job in placing students into service courses. Its criterion-related validity was surprisingly high (0.85). For this reason, replication of the research is crucial (Guilford, 1973, p. 458).

Modifications and further research are also indicated. The body of the test can be shortened, without reducing its effectiveness, thus allowing the inclusion of other subtests and affective scales on a preliminary and experimental basis.

Finally, research should begin along the lines Comrey has developed in constructing his Personality Scales.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Limited resources prevented the punching of all scripts. The elimination of extreme scores increases sample homogeneity and thus lowers item and test reliability. It may or may not influence validity. In the present circumstances, the elimination of extremes is preferable in that no one can fail to identify really poor or really good speakers. The problem for this test is to place intermediate speakers into three courses of English: 33A, B, and C, i.e., distinguish within the middle of the group, not at the extreme ends. Many previous studies of the ESLPE included extreme scores and in doing so have inflated reliability coefficients. Reliability will increase as the group of subjects becomes more heterogeneous and the test becomes longer.

[2] Criterion ratings could be obtained for only 82 students who had taken W74. Of these, the test results of 15 had not been keypunched; and of these 15, only 7 test scripts could be found and included. The other 8 had been taken by the teachers and not returned.

[3] Before the analysis could begin, it was necessary to clean up the data. For one thing, the computer and human scoring failed to agree on the final score of many scripts. In a few disagreements, the computer card had been incorrectly punched; but in a great many other cases, about 5% serious, the test had not been previously correctly scored or tabulated. This is not unexpected (Phillips and Weathers, 1958, and Goodwin, 1946), and care must be taken to feret out errors.

[4] Why did the listening subtest fare so poorly? Dr. Cohen explained that the quality of the tape was not good. He hypothesized that the odd-numbered items, read by one speaker who rushed his reading, more than the other reader, would be lower than the even-numbered items, read by a second speaker. As it turned out, there were an equal number of inadequate items from each speaker.

[5] Tentative research underway indicates that academic readers are more concerned with organization and support than with grammatical matters in student writing.

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REPORT OF AN INFORMAL CLASSROOM EXPERIMENT ON SPEEDWRITING WITH A SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Marianne Celce-Murcia

Introduction

For several years now professors and teaching assistants in charge of intermediate and advanced ESL courses at UCLA have made occasional use of an activity referred to as "speedwriting."[1] This activity generally proceeds as follows: first, a topic is introduced by the teacher and is written on the blackboard. (The topic is something the students are expected to be familiar with such as a university-related topic, a topic dealing with some feature of the local environment, a topic of current social relevance, etc.) Second, a short, guided discussion (5 to 7 minutes) takes place, during which time the teacher notes key responses on the board--in some organized manner, if possible. Finally, the students are given 7 minutes in which to write a paragraph on the topic; they are told to focus on some aspect of the discussion that was of particular interest to them. The papers are collected, and another class activity begins. The whole procedure usually takes no more than 15 minutes.

Some teachers stay with this activity a bit longer by asking a few students, who may either be volunteers or class members selected by the teacher, to read their paragraphs aloud; each reading is then briefly discussed, and hopefully it elicits comments from other class members.

The potential of this type of activity has intrigued me because I feel that writing--in any language--involves psychological and kinesthetic aspects as well as competence in the language itself or in the use of writing conventions associated with the language. Speedwriting addresses itself to both of these non-linguistic elements. In addition, it encourages fluency in writing (i.e. getting started quickly and proceeding at a good pace). This is desirable since most of our students have to take essay-type examinations in English in one or more of their other subjects, usually under time-pressure conditions.

The Informal Experiment

My speculation on the potential value of speedwriting led me to incorporate it as a regular activity into the Advanced Composition course I taught Fall Quarter, 1973. It was carried out once a week during all but the first and last weeks of the quarter (i.e. it was done a total of 8 times). The topics selected were worked out in advance with the teacher's aide[2] who observed and assisted in the class, and together the aide and I evaluated the paragraphs thus written on a three-grade scale that took content, organization, grammar, and mechanics all into consideration:

✓+ = good or very good
✓ = average, adequate
✓- = poor, inadequate

The students were allowed to question or challenge a grade if they did not agree with our evaluation.

It should be emphasized that speedwriting was only one of many other activities, which included 1. reading and analyzing model paragraphs and essays; 2. writing both set-topic and free-choice paragraphs and essays in and out of class; 3. doing work on spelling, vocabulary building, etc. It should also be mentioned that before the first speedwriting experience was undertaken the students were given a pep talk of sorts. They were told that speedwriting was a difficult but potentially valuable exercise. It was mentioned that speedwriting would get easier after they had done it several times, and that it was an exercise that should help to improve their writing.

At the end of the quarter, in addition to the standard class evaluation, the students were asked to fill out the following questionnaire concerning the speedwriting exercises they had done:

- -

Name_________________________

Special Questionnaire on Speedwriting

As a regular part of your English 106J course you have been doing a "speedwriting" exercise once a week.

1. Do you feel that the "speedwriting" has helped to improve your writing in English? If so, how?

2. In general, did you enjoy this activity? Why, or why not?

3. The following topics were used in the speedwriting exercises:

_____a. The Santa Ana Condition
_____b. The Beach/The Ocean
_____c. The Freeways
_____d. How I Feel When I Take an Exam
_____e. What Makes a Good Teacher
_____f. The Generation Gap
_____g. Do Americans Make Good Friends?
_____h. What I'd Like to Do over the Holidays

In the space provided before each topic please rate the topic as:

(3) good, interesting
(2) okay, average
(1) dull, uninteresting
(X) I was not present when we wrote on this topic

4. If you have any additional comments or suggestions to make concerning the speedwriting activity--please write them in the space below.

- -

A few comments should be made concerning the form and use of the questionnaire. First, the eight topics are listed on the questionnaire in the order in which they were presented to the class. "The Santa Ana Condition" refers to the hot, dry weather Los Angeles residents regularly experience in September-October, and we had just had some 'Santa Ana' weather before doing this exercise; "the Beach/the Ocean" and "the Freeways" are natural and artificial features of the local environment respectively; "How I Feel When I Take an Exam" coincided with the midterm examinations given at UCLA that quarter; and "What I'd Like to Do over the Holidays" was written shortly before the end of the quarter with its impending Christmas vacation. The three intervening topics require no special comment. Second, twenty-one of the twenty-three students enrolled in the course were present when the questionnaire was filled out; therefore, only the speedwriting exercises done by these twenty-one students will be considered in this informal evaluation.

Results and Discussion

The first question, "Do you feel that the 'speedwriting' has helped to improve your writing in English? If so, how?," elicited answers that can be grouped into three categories:

a definite 'yes' - 14 students
a qualified 'yes' - 5 students
a definite 'no' - 2 students

Thus by a ratio of 2:1 the class felt that the speedwriting activity had definitely been helpful, and only 2 students or about 10% felt that it had not been helpful at all. Those students giving a definite 'yes' answer generally felt that the speedwriting had helped them to think and write faster and that these were valuable accomplishments. One student put it this way:

> "Yes, before I couldn't even write a couple of sentences in five or seven minutes, but now I can write at least a paragraph in the same amount of time."

One of the qualified 'yes' answers was as follows:

> "To an extent, yes, but since we are writing against time, we will make mistakes that are not made normally."

The more explicit of the two 'no' answers was:

> "I do not think that the speedwriting has helped me to improve my writing in English. It made me write something very quickly without thinking too much about it."

The second question (i.e. "In general, did you enjoy this activity? Why or why not?") also elicited three kinds of answers:

'yes' - 15 students
undecided/equivocal - 3 students
'no' - 3 students

Thus better than 2 out of every 3 students enjoyed the activity while only 3 students (about 14%) disliked it. Some of the 'yes' answers overlapped with those already given for question one (i.e. it helped me think and write faster, or write better); however, several independent reasons for enjoying the activity were offered, and some representative positive responses are provided below:

> "I enjoyed this activity simply because I had a chance to express my opinion about different things."
>
> "Yes, it was challenging."
>
> "Yes, it was an interesting activity because it helped me to understand certain topics we discussed and wrote about."

The following response, for example, was classified as undecided or equivocal:

> "It depended on the topic that was given."

I also include the most poignant of the negative responses:

> "Actually, I didn't enjoy it because it made me very tense when I tried to think quickly while I was writing."

The third question directed the students to rank the eight speedwriting topics by assigning 3 points to a good or interesting topic, 2 points to an average or acceptable topic, and 1 point to a dull or uninteresting topic. There was considerable variation in the way the students went about doing this rating; however, this variation is not central to this paper and will not be discussed in detail here.[3]

Related to topic preferences it is reasonable to ask whether student performance had, in any way, affected the ratings (i.e. Did students tend to rate high those topics on which they had performed well?). To determine this, I computed mean scores for overall class performances on each topic, --as well as for the class's topic preferences,--giving each speedwriting score of "✓+" 3 points, each score of "✓" 2 points, and each score of "✓-" 1 point. The following tables give the results of these computations.

Except for the fact that the topic receiving the lowest rating was the first topic the students encountered when doing speedwriting[4] the order in which the topics were presented appears to have had little or no influence on the way the students rated the topics. Also, while it looks as if there may be interaction in some cases between a rating and a performance, a good rating does not necessarily match with a good performance (cf. The Beach/The Ocean) and a low rating does not necessarily go with a poor performance (cf. What I'd Like to Do over the Holidays). If any trend is suggested by

Table I: CLASS RATINGS OF TOPICS

Topic	Chron. order	Mean Score
The Beach/The Ocean	(2)	2.65
Do Americans Make Good Friends?	(7)	2.48
The Freeways	(3)	2.47
The Generation Gap	(6)	2.44
What Makes a Good Teacher?	(5)	2.40
What I'd Like to Do over the Holidays	(8)	2.32
How I Feel When I Take an Exam	(4)	2.11
The Santa Ana Condition	(1)	2.05

Table II: CLASS PERFORMANCE ON TOPICS

Topic	Chron. order	Mean Score
What I'd Like to Do over the Holidays	(8)	2.84
The Generation Gap	(6)	2.53
Do Americans Make Good Friends?	(7)	2.43
What Makes a Good Teacher	(5)	2.33
How I Feel When I Take an Exam	(4)	2.26
The Freeways	(3)	2.21
The Santa Ana Condition	(1)	2.21
The Beach/The Ocean	(2)	2.20

the second table, it is the relationship between when a speedwriting topic was treated during the quarter and how well the class performed on it (i.e. a topic treated later in the quarter almost always matched with a better performance than one treated earlier in the quarter.) This is not surprising; it only indicates that given an appropriate amount of practice in an activity, a class will improve.

The fourth item on the questionnaire was optional (i.e. "If you have any additional comments or suggestions to make concerning the speedwriting activity--please write them in the space below.") Thirteen of the twenty-one students who filled out the questionnaire volunteered further comments. In five cases the comments were partially redundant with answers given to questions 1 and 2 (i.e. the activity was helpful (2 students), the time limitation was either pointless or too restrictive (3 students)). Six other kinds of comments were made. (1) Three students commented on the relative ease or difficulty of the topics, saying that when they knew a lot about a topic it had been very easy to write on; when they did not, it had been difficult. (2) Two students did not like the restriction of a single, specific topic--one wanted to be able to write on anything; the other wanted the topics to be more general. (3) Two students recommended varying the activity: one suggested offering 5 or more topics without having any discussion and just letting the students select one and write on it in the same time period; the other suggested that the teacher tell a short story and that the students paraphrase or retell it in the same time period. (4) One ambitious student wanted the activity to be done more frequently (i.e. twice a week) and with more controversial topics. (5) One student suggested a more explicit procedure saying that the time limit should be clearly established in advance and the students should, at any given time, know approximately how much time they had left to complete their paragraph. (6) One student felt the time could have been better spent on other activities such as outlining or learning more about different types of writing.

Conclusion

The additional comments and suggestions made by the students indicate that the time-keeping procedure should be made explicit and that the teacher's approach to the activity should be varied and not merely follow the procedure described in the introduction to this paper. In fact, if I use speedwriting again, I will definitely try to approach each session in a slightly different way using different methods of topic presentation and perhaps increasingly less discussion of the topic as the quarter progresses.

Most of the above data and observations are, admittedly, affective in nature. The crucial question, which is "Did the speedwriting exercises significantly improve the students' ability to express themselves coherently and accurately in English?", goes unanswered since we cannot use the students own subjective evaluation as a valid measurement. I feel intuitively that the answer to the above question is 'yes'; however, a more formal, rigorous study involving both an experimental group and a control group must be undertaken before this question can be answered properly.

At this point--with recourse to an analogy--I would like to restate my rationale for suggesting that the value of speedwriting be tested more objectively and rigorously. Consider the athletic coach who makes the members of his track team practice with weights fastened to their shoes. If with this extra burden they can be trained to perform adequately, then they become well-conditioned, excellent performers when the weights are removed (i.e. they can start faster and run faster for a longer period of time than they could before.)

The possible implications of this coach's method for the ESL classroom are interesting. They suggest the following question-hypothesis with respect to speedwriting: Will students who get regular practice within a seven-minute time limit in writing paragraphs that are reasonably accurate and coherent be able to write better compositions in one hour than students who have not engaged in any speedwriting? Unfortunately, the data from my informal classroom experiment do not begin to answer this question. While the compositions written in class during 50- or 60-minute time periods did show improvement, there was no control group and thus no way of knowing how the class would have performed if speedwriting had not been a regular part of the syllabus. Thus the question raised above could form the basis of an interesting classroom experiment--perhaps even a topic for an M.A. thesis in TESL.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The term "speedwriting" should not be confused with the orthographically-based shorthand system having the same name that is taught at some secretarial schools.

I do not know with whom the term "speedwriting" originated, and I do not believe that anything has been previously published in the literature concerning this type of classroom activity. If anyone can provide information on either of these points, I would appreciate hearing from him/her.

[2] I wish to thank Jennifer Donato, who served me capably and enthusiastically as the aide in the 106J course under discussion.

[3] The students differed greatly in the degree of discrimination they expressed in their ratings. Nine of the 21 students used all 3 possible ratings; eleven used only 2 of the ratings--in such cases only '2' or '3' were used; and one student gave a rating of '3' to all of the topics he had participated in (i.e. he had been absent for one). Whether these ratings reflect their true feelings or a tendency not to evaluate anything too negatively, I do not know. Perhaps it would have been more informative to have each student rank the 8 topics from favorite to least favorite.

[4] This is probably indicative of the somewhat traumatic experience students have when they do this activity for the first time.

DRAMA IN THE ESL CLASSROOM

John Povey

Drama provides a temptation to the ESL teacher because the mere existence of the pages of dialogue (and such an exciting proliferation of it used for varying purposes in varying voices) make it seem an ideal device for the teaching of English language usage. The pages of those continuous and well-written dialogues may make a teacher particularly anxious to approach drama, for it is with dialogue that the most popular methodology of teaching English as a second language has been associated. Whether, however, the dialogue in a play is better for language learning than the dialogue constructed by the average teacher, or by the writer of some fundamental textbook, is doubtful because its style and form force one to consider more than its writing and confront questions of literature. It is as well to begin with an extended warning. We are dealing with literature and, therefore, we must respond to the drama as literature. There can be a basic contradiction between those characteristics of study which are appropriate to understanding and appreciation and those elements which, being linguistic in their purport, require a work of literature to be set at the service of the teacher as he enforces studies in the technique of language, its pronunciation and manipulation.

There are many false impressions among ESL teachers about what drama is and what it represents. It is obviously wrong to assume that the theatrical language represents common, realistic speech. It is important to stress that dramatic realism is only apparent. On the stage one finds the language employed is what it is deemed appropriate for the speakers to say, in the theatrical context, i.e., what is the acceptable language we anticipate hearing from the mouths of the characters in the play. This dramatically suitable language in no way matches equivalent real situational language if it were tape-recorded under normal conditions of usage. By standards of merely common usage, it is mannered, literary, contrived and therefore is hardly ideal for student role playing.

It may seem like hair-splitting but I think it is important to distinguish between the artificial realism of the dramatic dialogue and the actual realism of constructed ESL dialogue exchanges in which some attempt is made to match likely utilization of repartee in an average contemporary situation. It is deluding to make one's defence for teaching drama that it allows practical experience of average conversational usage. Again we are brought to the tension between the decision to teach language and the decision to teach literature. Consistently and legitimately one argues for their interrelationship and interaction, but there is still no ideal overlap of aim or technique. This is not to say that the drama may not have a valuable part to play in the literature proffered to foreign language speakers, as it does indeed to native speakers of English, but that one should be aware of certain significant difficulties, which, to my mind, arise from the kind of fallaciously eager expectations the teacher may have and false assumptions of the utility and advantage of drama as a vehicle for the rehearsal of speech pattern.

We might begin with some comments on the usual procedure in order to point out some of the difficulties inherent in the utilization of drama in the ESL class. The major assumption in the teaching of drama -- other, that is, than as part of an advanced course in English where content and diction become more significant -- is the idea that the work can be, in some way, enacted in class. The teacher eagerly assumes that by assigning parts he involves the student with the concepts and motives of the characters and the development of the plot and that they will become familiar with the appropriate language manipulation that each character employs. It is envisioned that there will be classroom enthusiasm and participation in this theatrical opportunity and the commonplace dreariness that has marked the average course in reading the novel will be mercifully forgotten. However, it doesn't always work that way. Firstly, there are the obvious, purely mechanical difficulties that face the teacher, and one knows the kind of results that occur. The teacher invariably and understandably picks the better students for big parts; otherwise, one has complete unintelligibility. This means that those who are already most capable in manipulating language are given the maximum opportunity to practice -- in one sense those who need it least. Those who are the most incompetent are given consolation prizes of walk-on parts and servant's roles. Secondly, the act of open choral speech is quite complex an art and students have often a reasonable amount of embarrassment in standing up in front of the class and spouting. The result is often some mumbling and shuffling of feet which does not make for the ideal enunciation for the rest of the class. Thirdly, in most plays, there are two or three major characters -- perhaps only six characters in all. Unless one has an ideal numerical arrangement, the other twenty students eagerly encouraged to watch and listen and enjoy are, in fact, virtually left to their own devices, either linguistic or social. On top of this, unless one is able to find a good one act play -- and most of the plays rated as "literature" have been much longer -- one is faced with the same kind of difficulty encountered in teaching a novel. It provides an excessively long literary experience which will go on across more than a week of class time. The more able students will rush ahead to conclude the reading and soon become bored; the less able will be bored from the beginning and will stoically bear-out the performance.

This glum assessment is, I believe, a reasonably accurate interpretation of some classroom experience which I have witnessed, but it is not a total denunciation of the role drama might play in the literature classroom. I would fall back upon the concept that literature does not form the tools for exercises in elementary linguistic problems; rather, it teaches a much broader concept of language usage, that point where language ties in with the expression of cultural understanding. The more comprehensive versions of language found in literary usage will always, by definition, be more complex, more subtle, more sophisticated than forms employed in speech even by a relatively well educated native speaker. To employ drama in order to gain some experience with dialogue is to assume an obviously false premise.

One may however take quite another attitude. Assume that linguistic awareness (as opposed to use) can often be more comprehensive than one recognizes; that the amount of appreciative recognition is higher than the degree of verbal manipulation managed in conversational situations. Then the possibilities of drama become those of any other literary genre but perhaps raised to a higher and more direct level. What a good teacher will make apparent in classes dealing with the short story will be more obvious, and perhaps more acceptable, to the student in the drama. When one discusses the nature of character and how it is presented in the short story, one is required to get into quite complex explanations of authorial tone and the nature of the omniscient author. Plays can be more direct. In daily lives we all make judgements of character from conversation and action (that is, without god-given editorial asides, much as we might like to receive them in marginal cases). In drama then we are dealing with a very close relationship between the literary form and the actual human experience lived through by the student himself.

There is no point in generating a history of drama, for the same reason that there is no point in introducing a history of literature. One leaves that information to the courses which assume a student is already dedicated to literature study. The drama should rather provide the student with the same humanizing and sensitizing reaction which is the justification for all studies in literature. But some explanation is required, simply because presuppositions have to be established and an understanding of the nature of the theatre is necessary. It may therefore be well to begin with some explanation of the Western dramatic process, particularly in as much as it may conflict with the far more stylized and exaggerated forms known by other peoples such as those from the Far East.

Crucially introductory remarks should make the distinction, in a theatrical sense, between the imaginative and the realistic, and indicate how the theatre presentations deal with those two extremes in presenting drama. If one takes these two forms -- the imaginative theatre and the realistic theatre -- it is possible, in a very brief ten minute introduction, to indicate how this dictates the way we go about appreciating a dramatic presentation in the West. One might also add that, for the students we are dealing with, we are likely to be much more concerned with so called realistic drama, because it deals with contemporary events. It portrays people under the stress of the kind of emotional situation which we assume it is appropriate for a foreign student to know if he is to appreciate the cultural background of the people whose language he is employing. But even as I accept and teach this view I have to admit that there is a very plausible counter-argument. Several teachers, forced to teach ancient plays, have found that classic literature with its tragic universality has a marked appeal to foreign students, even though one would assume that it should be disqualified by its complexity of language and antiquity of context.

The difference between the realistic and imaginative theatre can be demonstrated in many ways, most obviously in the stage setting. Yet, of course, there will always be an overlap of these two modes of expression and presentation and neither pure fancy nor total realism exist because of the very structure and nature of the theatre itself. Imagination is always an essential feature of any theatrical presentation. One thinks of Shakespeare's famous lines that open Henry V which beg for the indulgence of the audience for the failure to provide the realism that the limitations of Globe stage preclude:

> Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them
> Printing their proud hoofs i' th' receiving earth.
> (Prologue, 26-27)

(It is precisely this imaginative act which is denied the observer in Shakespearean films for they provide at this point a realistic view of a collection of horses!)

When the setting is non-realistic, it is quite possible for the characters to be non-real. (Sometimes the introduction of the non-real in a realistic play is part of the deliberate humour, such as Harvey, the pink rabbit, or Blithe Spirits ghostly wife.) Fairies and elves, gods and devils appear in the imaginative theatre and language that may be suited to them may be poetic. Even modern plays, which demand imaginative identification of the audience are couched in language which was never spoken by a human being and never will be. This is not to say that it is not ideally appropriate to the characters speaking it; that is another question. But, it reminds us again that the expectation that because the theatre supplies dialogue its language is, therefore, supremely appropriate for a foreign student to reproduce from a linguistic point of view, is again highly suspect. When the stage is set, an imaginative play permits shadows, obscure lumps, rises, and boards to take the place of more realistic presentations of scenery and thus attention can be focused upon the drama as an interaction of personality.

The twentieth centure theatre, until relatively recently, has been predominantly realistic in its concepts. One might make another interesting detour to argue the precise reason for the recent introduction or the reintroduction of poetic and imaginative drama onto the modern stage; but the most obvious historical sequence derived from Ibsen and Bernard Shaw, is the rational kind of drama which reaches some kind of a climax in the early work of the American author, Arthur Miller. The characteristic of this type of play will be the illusion of reality created. In Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf, the stage set is a professor's home with the inevitable desk, pile of books, chairs, and phonograph which would require a really substantial effort to move -- as one has learned often in the unpleasant process of moving oneself. The people are dressed in a recognizably sloppy professional way; the language, though regrettable, is only an extreme case of campus discussion. Because of the amount of effort required to make a realistic staging the writer must arrange that all the events of the play occur in that particular drawing room. It would be difficult to require any alternative location, as is possible in a Shakespearean play where simply the marching on of recognizably opposing forces indicates that the action has changed from one war camp to another. Realistic theatre presumes the concept of drama which envisions a fourth wall. The audience acts, as it were, as voyeur, as peeping-Tom through the keyhole of American events and American life, that is most appropriate to the discussions one wishes to elucidate.

With the recognition that the theatre starts with realism but imposes necessary and arbitrary imaginative presentation one can approach the drama with foreign students. It will probably be worth undertaking some preliminary discussion about the nature of the dramatic form in the various countries from which the students come. This will not, of course, always come under the heading of what we call "theatre." It is quite obvious that various kinds of rituals and festivals are as theatrical as our theatre even though they do not match our own rather limited analysis of what constitutes dramatic form. It perhaps would be as well to remind ourselves that Greek drama begins with the festivals for the gods and that the actors on the Greek stage were masked, as they are in some Chinese and Japanese drama. It is comparatively recently that the gross manipulation of the human face is seen as an essential part of the acting process. We may have forfeited a certain kind of dramatic experience by our emphasis on these individualistic enactments of character. I mention this to indicate that Pope's aphorism "whatever is, is right" does not require that we generalize American practice into inevitable international procedure.

It does not do to press this discussion too far. One wishes after all to prepare the student for what is to come, not undertake a class in comparative drama. But, it is helpful to elucidate previous conceptions which must be balanced against the alternatives which are going to be experienced in the play under discussion.

It probably is good to begin with the concept of the setting itself, the scene against which the actors will function. Consideration of the type of material that would appropriately be on stage is revealing and of great cultural importance. What is required to establish the setting for the American working class family? What features indicate that the participants are wealthy and/or intellectual, or impoverished, or arty, etc? Some of the devices are most obvious, some of them can be quite subtle. A most valuable activity is to work out with the students what an appropriate stage setting might be. Here the student is required to call upon his whole experience of the social context. Where this is not forthcoming directly, it can be initiated by the intrusion of items suggested by the teacher. Would a television set be appropriate in a working class home? It is conceivable that some might feel that this was too expensive an item for a working class family. On the other hand, in the States you may have the cultural paradox that a rich man's sitting room might be indicated by the absence of television as a mark of status and intellectualism, just as it is said that three phones on a man's desk is a sign that he is only middle in the hierarchy as the president has no phones at all! In requiring the foreign student to set up in this manner an appropriate staging for the drama, one is already involving him in cultural judgements about the appropriate situation of contemporary society.

The second question relates to character. There has to be the recognition that you judge a person, not only by what he says, but by what he does -- and there may be a conflict there. What he says will also be conditioned by the circumstances under which he's talking and the persons whom he is addressing. This certainly requires no big jump of understanding but it does require close and perceptive reading and observation for the occasional guidelines introduced in a novel by the omniscient author will be missing. One has to establish at a fairly early stage whose values are going to dominate the play and how a reader, or an audience, may gain some appreciation of what the author wishes to establish as appropriate action. In investigating characterization, a student is forced to look into subtle areas of semantics which are the most crucial areas of all literary understanding and take us a long way from the simple synonyms provided by the dictionary. The complexity of semantic connotation is an area which the drama can suggest extremely well, for the verbal maneuvers of the characters as they argue their case and make their policies, indicate the subtle shifts of which language is capable and this is the essential thing that literature is able to convey to the foreign student. He will discover that subtleties of tone are as possible in the English language as in his own. Remember that in teaching literature to a foreign student one is not teaching the socially and culturally illiterate child and bringing him into the first discoveries of experience but, rather, making a cross-over bridge apparent between the kind of assumptions made in his culture, the kind of distinction which his own language can indicate, and the American literary experience. He can get to grips with these cultural cross-overs by seeing their situations enacted within a particular domestic or social event on the stage.

I recognize that there is a great danger in treating a play too statically but I do believe that it is a work of art that is not totally divorced from the other forms of literary expression. Shakespeare can be studied in the classroom without presentation. The memory may raise a groan, as one recalls one's own bored response to early classroom experience of Shakespeare's plays. But the fact that the presentation was dull is beside the point in that it is not necessarily rectified by making oral presentations. I have seen Shakespeare taught well without presentation. I have seen Shakespeare taught dreadfully. Three reluctant and inarticulate students standing up in front of the class trying to muddle incompetently through the complex lines of Shakespearean poetry may make it even less intelligible to other students because of errors than if they were actually reading it through themselves. I do not think that presentation is the single, simple answer. Under carefully controlled conditions, with a good teacher, with pre-preparation, it is possible for something attractive to be done in the class with a play. What one is then talking about is virtually a play reading with the parts finally understood if not actually memorized. If this method were to be undertaken, it requires a good deal of pre-preparation and pre-understanding to permit articulate and intelligible presentation.

Originally at least teaching drama depends on the methods of presentation employed for any other work of literature. One discusses complexities of vocabulary, explains certain difficult words, attempts to make some oral presentation, possibly by the teacher's own reading of the various parts, or perhaps through a recording — though my experience with recordings has not been terribly encouraging since even when the equipment is adequate (a rare proviso) they introduce another complexity -- dialect. They make the class something other than an investigation of literature. A recording, if it is utilized, may best be done at the end rather than the beginning of study. Then it becomes a comprehensive conclusion to the presentation in class and illuminates the knowledge acquired. A premature playing of records can simply add to the confusion. If it is to be recognized that dialogue can be constructed in other ways and can be formed around subjects with a great deal more social utility than the kind of concerns that provoke people on the stage drama may be separated from regular need for getting a realistic dialogue going in class. One pursues the question of the meaning of the play getting into subjects of the action, the significance of the motivation, and, ultimately, beyond content to the issue of the theme of the author. In order to make this kind of interpretation clear, I would like to take a play and indicate how it might be offered to the student, throwing out practical examples of the kind of generalizations I have just been making.

As an example of a play which I have used in class with foreign students I would like to discuss Tennessee William's The Glass Menagerie. I realize that this is a difficult play. I would find it perfectly understandable if a teacher simply said that it was too difficult to work with in most classes. Nevertheless without insisting that it is ideal for many groups, it had advantages for the purposes of this discussion. It allows demonstration of the kind of issues that might arise and the procedures that might be followed with other plays. The Glass Menagerie is most useful for explaining questions of stage devices, symbolism, character, and discussing cultural expectations. It is not unimportant that it is regarded as one of the major contemporary American plays.

The story of The Glass Menagerie follows almost directly the autobiography of Tennessee Williams. In fact the story goes that when his mother proudly attended her son's opening night in Chicago, she walked out in angry humiliaion at seeing herself so cruelly portrayed in the part of Amanda. The play is therefore a realistic representation of American life. It deals with a family's struggle in poverty and adversity and the responsibilities that each encounters. The foreign student in many cases finds the fundamental (and very American) dilemma of the plot hard to accept. Many have a very powerful sense of responsibility within the extended family. Their belief in the interacting obligations of the inter-related group are so strong that they tend to condemn Tom's actions at leaving his mother and sister without attempting any balanced view; rather, finding it only irresponsible and despicable. At the end of this play it is a very interesting subject of discussion to try (usually unsuccessfully) to indicate that there may be something to be said for Tom's point of view. At least a teacher might suggest that the nature of his inner division should be appreciated even if in the final analysis his decisions are to be rejected and condemned.

The chronology and structure of this play are unusual. Williams in his introductory comment declares, "The scene is memory and is therefore non-realistic." Yet in many scenes this is a highly realistic family play, in spite of the dramatist's denial "it is sentimental, it is not realistic." He seems to feel that the realistic technique is insufficiently original unless he peppers it with ingenious contemporary staging tricks. In order to escape from the conventions of the realistic play, Williams introduces a whole series of deliberate ostentatious and not very successful devices. You should point out the most obvious of these, although they seem to add little to the situation. Seeing things entirely through a gauze curtain as a literal demonstration of fading memory is a shallow device. Those odd illuminated quotations, supposed to set the verbal tone of the scenes, seem the most trivial experiment, since if the incidents did generate those reactions then the projection would hardly be necessary. Similarly there is an air of contrivance around the heavy symbols. "I have a poet's weakness for symbols," says Mr. Williams. Jim O'Connor, the gentleman caller, is to be seen not as a man who comes to supper but as a symbol of "the long delayed but always expected something that we live for." Even the setting is made part of this symbolic statement" "The fire escape is a structure whose name is a touch of accidental poetic truth for all of these huge buildings are always burning with the slow and implacable fires of human desperation." Symbols explained are always something like damp squibs!

If I have reacted to the symbolism rather scornfully, this does not mean that it cannot be utilized as evidence at a simplistic level of the symbolic technique. This is something which a teacher may be able to convey by beginning with more obvious examples. Most significant in this play is the inherent symbolism of the glass menagerie and the little unicorn changed into an ordinary horse when its magic single horn is snapped off, with all kinds of Freudian implications. If the possibilities of the symbolic method have already been explained before this point there is the chance that students will be able to approach the more complicated symbols which are at the very heart of this play throughout and require considerable discussion and awareness for their perception.

One must also explain the problems generated by the flash-back idea. Tom arrives in his sailor suit which from the very beginning deliberately removes suspense concerning his decision. Williams indicates that the significance of the story rests less on "will he or won't he" deliberations than on the overall type of emotional memory. When this play is being read and not seen on stage it is very easy to forget this and to follow with sympathy Tom's painful introspections and decisions. Off the stage the deliberate devices are irrelevant enough to appear only as theatrical gimmicks and the strength of this work is that it does not have to rely on those dramatic tricks but has the conventional strength of a play that confronts moral issues of consequence.

One place to begin is to discuss how the stage might be set. This is a tricky question because if vizualizing the setting helps understanding, it can hardly be done fully until the whole play has been studied. Perhaps the teacher can guide the student through the scenes noting the equipment required, filling in the appropriate furniture and properties. This imagined scenery can then be reviewed later as certain remarks or actions make clear what is present. Amanda's bold plans for making-over the furniture, for instance, reminds us of what the furniture originally have been.

A further effective approach to the play is through characterization. It is always the most immediate and direct way to encounter a work such as this, since personality is the most interesting topic for student response.

The play centers around Amanda far more than the sad neurosis of Laura or Tom's own wrestles with responsibility. It is she who shows control and growth for all her surface inanity and chatter. Her opening words set her as a nagging mother as Tom makes clear "I haven't enjoyed one bite of this dinner..." Americans would be very quick to pick up this Momism syndrome but foreign students might at first retain the assumption that Mothers have the right to guide and direct, and that Tom is being undutiful. It is propably desirable not to discuss this thought out in the abstract but to postpone the argument until the play has provided the opportunity to pursue Amanda's nature more fully. Laura's related situation is rapidly established as pathetic enough. She is neurotic to the point where she is sick at the very thought of going to typing school and is only happy at playing with the sterile fragility of her glass animals, and thus totally dependent on others.

Not unreasonably, her mother can see little other hope than waiting for the required "gentleman caller" who will arrive and solve the whole family's plight with his bounty. Yet this is clearly a delusive expectation. There are class and regional elements in this play that may need explanation. Amanda's difficulty partly relates to her social expectations. She was brought up with the mythic old belief that we now call "chauvinist," that a woman has nothing more to do than look beautiful and be a gracious hostess. Then some indulgent and infatuated man will take care of her for the rest of her life. (This is not only an American dream. Consider such famous lines of nursery indoctrination of social values: "Goldilocks, Goldilocks wilt though be mine..." and all the subsequent promises the languishing swain makes to her!) In Amanda's case the whole situation is enhanced by the legend of the Southern Belle, which might be worth a brief comment as a hint of the underlying cultural knowledge that Williams is assuming in his audience. Many students may have a garbled version of this idea of Southern womanhood through Gone With the Wind. It is also the basis for Williams other major play, A Streetcar Named Desire.

Against this context, and knowing of Tom's restleness, understandable by American standards, we see that for all her fluttering tireness Amanda really does have a problem. The fact that she is intolerably silly does not alter her huge responsibilities. Nothing in her own upbringing has in any way fitted her to deal with such need. Her painfully incompetent attempts to sell magazines have little enough effect in stemming the financial disasters of her house. Why then is she so difficult and unreasonable towards Tom who provides all the income of the household? Is it that she simply has a bossy nature, or is it perhaps more complicated? This may be just one of the several occasions on which she manages to conceal reality from herself. To admit Tom is the provider and to show him the respect and gratitude that his man's role might occasion would require her to take an intolerably accurate view of the precipitous state of her own situation and her fearsomely complete dependence on her openly reluctant son. Are Tom's occasional outbursts against his mother justified? Many foreign students would find them shockingly disrespectful. Perhaps they are to some degree shocking to Americans too and thus supply evidence of just how close to despairing break-up or break-out Tom finds himself. He does not wish to be antagonistic to his mother but he battles his own dilemma. "For sixty-five dollars a month I give up all that I dream of doing and being ever." Translate that figure into the probable $650 a month of present income, and again you propose another conundrum to many foreign students. Some will have come from countries where that is a kind of heaven of wealthy security. Then one has to sell the idea that this American dream of rejecting the day-to-day routine of work for some idealized version of the free-traveling life fulfillment has some moral validity. This will require considerable discussion. The sense of family roots and connections are sufficiently strong in many foreign societies to find the Thomas Wolfe or Jack Keroac dream to be unenticing in itself and more reprehensible in undermining the basic structure of the family and society. In fact this view is not unreasonable. These principles do give the American society its curious rootlessness and yet also its flexibility and vigor. Why does Tom keep going to the movies? You will be able to elicit the fairly obvious connection between the personal yearning and the dream, supplied at second-hand by the screen. Not for nothing is Hollywood known as "the dream factory." Tom has a painful dilemma, the more difficult because no matter the decision, it is insoluble without pain. In a suddenly honest moment Amanda recognizes that Tom has suffered because of his inheritance. "I know your ambitions do not lie in the warehouse, that like everybody in the whole wide world you've had to make sacrifices." But constantly before her lies the frightening possibility that Tom may turn out to be as irresponsible to his obligations as his father was. "I saw that letter you got from the Merchant Marine. I know what you're dreaming of." Is this dream of mobility one that a foreign student can share?

Amanda suggests a contract. Let Tom unload his own responsibilities onto a husband, provide a man for Laura, and he can leave with a mother's blessing. It is difficult to judge whether Tom really accepts the thought of such a devil's compact or whether it merely exposes to him that his mother's desperation has reached a point where he cannot avoid responding. Casually, and at random, he provides the "gentleman caller." The excitement exhibited by Amanda when she knows a caller is coming is simultaneously absurd and almost touching in its comic desperation. In-class discussion of Jim, regardless of his unavailability as a husband, might focus upon the fact that the kinds of dream illusions he exhibits are not as impressive as his loud-mouthed boasting confidence would suggest. Jim's world seems to have changed little since his schooldays promise. He is a shallow, silly person, even if this is not so immediately obvious as in Amanda's actions. Notice the fatuous conventionality and total unhelpfulness of his glib encouragement of Laura: "Everybody has problems, not just you, but practically everybody has got some problems." From high school hero to "holding a job that wasn't much better than mine", as Tom puts it, is a sign that for all the evening classes and dreams of American success and all those "zaps, zaps", his hopes are as self-delusive as those of the others in this pathetic tale.

The meeting, after premonitions of disaster and some agonizing scenes of horrible comedy as Amanda maneuvers on her reluctant daughter's behalf, actually goes quite well. The symbol here tells all. The unicorn, separated from the rest by his eccentric oddity, has its horn cracked off and thus becomes an ordinary horse able to mix with its peers. If there is something unique lost, there is also the comfort in a kind of conformity. The revelation of Jim's engagement shatters Laura. Why? Should not the fact that she has gained approval and appreciation of one popular man lead her to find another? Doesn't his insistence that he never thought her peculiar or deformed indicate that she really does not have to feel this pathetic self-depreciation? We may now recall that Williams himself has announced that Jim was a symbol of the unobtainable. As Amanda says so simply, "Things have a way of turning out so badly." With Laura's helplessness utterly exposed there is the desperation of hysteria in Amanda's voice, and yet there is no evidence that her interpretation is inaccurate or exaggerated. "Go to the movies, go. Don't think about us, a mother deserted, an unmarried sister who's crippled and has no job. Don't let anything interfere with your selfish pleasure. Just go, go, go to the movies. Then go to the moon -- you selfish dreamer." And quite simply Tom does not! Amanda turns to comfort Laura by embracing her and in so doing takes on a strange and yet convincing maternal strength. In Williams words in the notes "now that we cannot hear the mother's speech her silliness is gone and she has dignity and tragic beauty."

The play concludes with an extended rather defensive soliloquy by Tom. He expresses his sorrow that he did leave his sister and "followed his father's footsteps." He declares that even in absence he remained close to her. "Oh Laura, Laura I tried to leave you behind me but I am more faithful than I intended to be." All of this makes a touching and impressive poetic ending mood. One will find that the students may well introduce the thought that this is a rather comfortable luxury of emotion. Can one imagine how that family survived? Did Amanda find some strength as seemed suggested by the last tableau? Is personal strength adequate where there is such a total inability to manage financial survival? If Laura dies or survives in a nursing home (the solution is not clear), what does this do to the easy qualifications and dreams of Tom's world travelings?

It is useful to debate the conclusion of this play by focussing upon a discussion of Tom's options. Obviously someone has to make a sacrifice. Tom in the final analysis decides it won't be him, just as his father did. Regrets after the events are hardly an adequate substitute for immediate self-denial. Is then the dream of self-sufficiency worth the pain and hardship it causes others? Does an individual have such a right to live his own life and dreams that he can pursue his desires without thinking of others? Is it just, that a situation imposes that degree of obligation that requires a person's total sacrifice? These are fundamental questions and obviously there is a sense in which the American culture loads them in one direction. With its stresses upon the individual person, and his needs, and with the general lack of connecting family obligations and associations, there is some sense that since a person has only one life he is entitled to enjoy it. (The pursuit of happiness!) This is the basis for all the arguments of the, "I've got rights too you know!"

In an analysis of this play you will probably, from my experience, find foreign students generally far less sympathetic to Tom than many young Americans would be and, more importantly, than one gathers that Tennessee Williams is. The author seems to indicate that Tom really had no other choice for the alternative selection of self-sacrifice and obligation, would grant him only a sour and bitter constricted existence. But the play with its emotive-poetic conclusion manages to avoid the thought of what life must have been like for Amanda and Laura during the year after Tom's departure. A reader still questions the legitimacy of Tom's decision, and sees a selfishness no less apparent because it was inevitable, given characters and circumstances provided by the play. Perhaps Tom's terminal talk of Laura is less tenderness than a continuing haunting and inescapable guilt. This is precisely the strength of any play that it sets a context in which one can perceive the motives of actions that result from the interaction of characters and events. Thus one confronts a significant, external, and insoluble human quandary.

This somewhat rambling account of Tennessee Williams' play indicates the elements of its development and implicitly sets out the priorities of teaching it to a foreign student group. With drama, as with any other genre of literature, it is essential that the emphasis be on meaning and the comprehension of theme. At one level it needs the illumination of specific words and yet most of this play has readily understandable conversation. With the linguistic understanding achieved, the real business of a literature class can begin, the discovery of the universal and the American issues that it raises.

With foreign students it is important to pursue two directions of response; to find out how the foreign student is reacting and then to indicate how within the American cultural context things might be viewed somewhat differently. If you discover that most of your students criticize Tom for his refusal to accept his excessive responsibilities, you might point out that the American emphasis on personal individualism as much as group association is his partial justification. You will almost certainly not change the student's personal opinion. He will still assume that Tom is wrong and lacking in honor, but at least he may grudgingly be brought to the point of recognizing that Americans might not inevitable share his viewpoint. It is one of the major justifications of literary study that it opens up a reader's perceptions of moral options. Taught with this in mind The Glass Menagerie can be a valuable presentation in the foreign students' classroom, for in a highly realistic and human local context, it requires that the student consider the nature and judgement of American attitudes. To balance the universal consequences of decisions against the acts neccessitated by the cultural context of people and nations is one part of what literature can offer the attentive and well-guided student reader.

CALM OR CHAOS IN THE CLASSROOM*

Lois McIntosh

The English language is being taught in hundreds of classrooms around the country and abroad. The teachers are many and varied. Their approaches to language teaching are also many and varied.

Theorists, linguists, and psycho-linguists have contributed to the variety. Grammatical analysis has gone from surface patterns to deep structure abstractions. In all this, I trust we have not forgotten the student in our classroom. Whether he is six or sixty, he is entitled to function in a calm, well ordered class. He is entitled to feel that he is progressing in the language, undisturbed by extraneous activities.

When the language we teach is our own, we must constantly be aware that the early lessons are not simple-minded, even though the sentences in them seem so to us. Chaos results when we lose sight of the importance of teaching that time-honored sentence: *This is a book*. Chaos results when skipping briskly over several lessons centered on BE as a main verb, we plunge into sentences requiring support from *do*, *does*, *did*.

Chaos also results when we bring a guitar to class, play it badly, and fail to exploit the language of the songs we are offering. While a relaxed and friendly atmosphere is desirable in the classroom--cookies and punch might better be reserved for celebrating a national holiday or a saint's day, or some other valid cultural event.

If you are a young teacher with adult students, be friendly, but try not to fall in love with any of them. Chaos results when rivalry and jealousy rear their ugly heads.

Now let's look at the calm classroom. You are the well-trained, well-organized teacher in it. You are neat and friendly. You have a plan for the day and for the weeks ahead. You usually have more material in reserve than you can cover in a class period. You do this so that students will continue to learn without suffering awkward pauses during which you try valiantly to dredge up a good example or worthwhile activity.

I know that all of you agree that this is exactly what you do in your own class. And I am glad that this is so. Well-trained means that you can think of your native language as foreign to your learners. In thinking this way, you are aware that the Lesson One sentence *this is a book* offers a few learning problems. The initial consonant in *this* /ð/ is new to many learners. The vowel in *this* /I/ can be troublesome. The unstressed *a* contributes to the distinctive rhythm of the English sentence. The vowel in *book* may cause another problem. So, *this is a book* is not easy for the beginning learner.

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*This is the text of a talk given at the NAFSA Conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1974.

But don't run this sentence into the ground. We begin with it because we can hold up a book, and there is no need to translate. You choose the nouns in lesson one for (1) easy identification, (2) countability so that they can occur in plural form in a later lesson, and (3) these countable nouns should have three final ending sounds so that the plural forms ending in voiced and voiceless sibilants can be introduced. Thus you have *book* and *desk* ending in voiceless consonants and the plural *books* and *desks* /s/ calling for the voiceless sibilant. *Pens* and *pencils* /z/ the voiced sibilant on voiced ending sounds; and *classes* and *watches* /əz/ with an obligatory syllable to express plural.

When you move tense to the front of the sentence, ahead of the subject noun phrase, to form a *yes-no* question, as in *Is this a book?*, do you require *Yes, that is a book* as answer, or *Yes, it is.* Which way do native speakers answer? The calm classroom has a teacher who listens to his own speech and that of his friends and is aware of the difference between *bookish* language and what we really say. Of course, some of us say "uh huh" and "yeah" and "I guess so", but we can limit responses to these early questions to a simple grammatically acceptable response that is natural rather than stilted. If you want a full statement from students you still have the -*or*-question: *Is this a pen or a pencil?* *It's a pen.* And after that, you have the *wh*- question: *What's this?* *It's a pen.*

I will stop belaboring Lesson One, only suggesting that the early lessons are the hardest to teach and to learn. But once you get to *I* and *You* and *We*, communication can be increased, and our ultimate goal is communication after all.

If your class contains students well advanced in the language, it is still necessary to prevent chaos and maintain calm. As students become more fluent, and as reading and writing occupy much more class time, the calm of the classroom can still be maintained because we teachers know what to do.

In some ways advanced classes are easier to teach, and in other ways, they are not. Discussion of stories read, sharing of compositions written, panel talks--higher levels of communication open.

It is here that the problem of correction comes in. How do we show them the error of their ways without putting them down? No matter how poorly written a composition is, the student has earned an appreciative comment for its content. The writing of foreign students is very interesting, reflecting as it does life in different worlds. But back to the errors he has made at the same time. The errors are inevitable in written work. Suppose he has written: *The boy go to school every day*. We do not write AWK! or NO! NO! NO! Rather, we produce the corrected sentence and contrast it with one with a plural subject:

The boy goes to school........*the boys go to school*

Then we give the student four or five sentences with plural noun phrase subjects, and have them produce sentences in which the noun phrase is singular, requiring the special ending: *The girls go to school* becomes *The girl goes to school*. *The teachers go, the students, the children go*. This is more productive than a negative criticism which only angers and frustrates the writer.

To ensure calm in the classroom we need to recognize certain difficulties that are built into the English language, and they are not eliminated in a hurry. Years of experience in teaching this language have taught me that the problems are in two parts of the system--first, the agreement of the noun phrase subject with any form of the verb showing present tense. Thus you have *the boy studies* contrasted with *the boys study*; also, *the boy has studied*; *the boy is studying*; and one past form: *the boy was studying*.

The other persistent problem is sequence of tense in extended discourse. Consider this simple story: The Smiths are neighbors of ours. They *live* in the old house *that has been* the home of the Smiths ever since their grandparents *settled* there years ago. The Smiths *have served* the community well. Last year Mr. Smith *was* mayor. His wife *teaches* at the local school which their young children *are attending*.

The several tenses and aspects in this short paragraph illustrate the problem. And when we teach the present perfect (or, *have-en*) do we stop and make at least four lessons of it? We should.

Consider: Have you had breakfast?
Yes, I just had it. I got up early.
Four lessons for this one: Have you ever...
Have you just...
Have you recently or lately
Have you already--not yet

When in the course of your busy lives, you are beset by book salesmen, and a strong pitch is made for a given text, take a long careful look at it. How well is it sequenced? Does it jump around, overload the vocabulary, because it is developed around a situation? Is the context--and there should be context for every lesson--suitable for the age and goals of your students? Is reading sequenced and offered for both close and extensive reading? Is writing sequenced so that literacy is firmly established before creativity is demanded?

The classroom is the product of the efforts by a knowledgeable, organized, kind human being. Let us all try to be that kind of a teacher.

I realize that I have said very little that is new and startling. But sometimes as we struggle with our students, we get lost among the trees. We need to back up and look at the whole forest. The calm teacher, then, keeps his eyes and ears open. He is conscious of differences in styles and registers. He can use English formally, consultatively, and intimately as various situations demand each register. And because all of us well-trained, calm teachers use the language well and teach it well, our students will be able to communicate meaningfully with the great English speaking population the world over.

AUDIOVISUAL ESL: THE MEDIUM IS THE METHOD

James Heaton

The need for audiovisual materials in the ESL classroom arises from the fact that language is inseparable from the real world--and there is precious little of the real world in a classroom. This problem has been with us ever since learning was abstracted out of the streets, shops, and courts into a special building called a school. It has been compounded, moreover, by the universal use of the print medium. School grammars, until this century, held the written form of the language as the primary model and mode of learning spoken language. The written model has not been altogether immutable over the years, but the printed text remains unquestioned as the central focus for language learning even now, after the audiolingual revolution has come and gone.

On the other hand, the real world practically inundates us with media for potential language use. There is even a technology arising which is exclusively concerned with "mediating" material for educational purposes. But the message of the language classroom is still carried almost exclusively by the following:

1. the teacher
2. the students
3. the blackboard
4. the classroom
5. the textbook

Usually a lesson is "built around" one or more of these "Basic Five," depending upon the preference of the teacher. Other materials, such as tape-recorded drills, realia, and pictures, may (or may not) be used, but generally these latter account for a small percentage of language teaching activity. The attitude persists among language teachers that audiovisual techniques are imprecise and difficult in execution and should not, therefore, be "depended" upon. Moreover, media other than the Basic Five are considered peripheral, as the term "audiovisual aid" suggests.

Let's examine what the traditional basic classroom media are meant to do. The teacher is a medium of sorts since he or she usually speaks a bona fide dialect of the target language and acts and relates to the students in a way which typifies the teacher's culture. The teacher is also able to reinforce the meaning of the language with a set of gestures typical of the culture. Such things as beckoning, kissing, handshaking, and headshaking often vary in style and communicative content from one language-culture to another. Such types of actions and reactions are the things that a teacher is depended upon to demonstrate. They are also things which cannot be derived from the print medium. Other vocabulary matters, such as the verbs walk, write, read, listen, look at, and the nouns for the parts of the body have typically required the teacher as the chief audiovisual aid in the classroom.

It may be obvious that the teacher would be unable to function as an educational medium without students. But, especially in language teaching, the physical participation of the learners themselves is an essential adjunct to the teaching process. Participation is necessary not only in the traditional modes of class drill, dialogue, question-answer, and chain drill, but also in the more genuine language experiences of role playing, and self-evaluatory group work. Language originates with people, and the activities in the lesson must always reflect this.

The teacher's ubiquitous ally, the blackboard, is also an economical and flexible audiovisual aid. Even the poorest primary schools in "underdeveloped" countries have them, even if the blackboards consist only of black paint over plaster or mud brick. And, if teachers are given any training at all, they will likely know how to make the best use of this written and pictorial medium.

The chief problem with blackboard illustration is the same as the problem with even the most well-illustrated textbook: lack of reality--or, more precisely, lack of the kind of psychological impact which, in a classroom, might pass for reality. This is especially true for children who have had little exposure to two-dimensional representations at all. To them, line drawings are abstract and often meaningless. The same effect exists even among adults. The strongest advantage of the blackboard is that it enables the temporary display of the written word. But in this age of psychedelic billboards and fluorescent cereal boxes, we need a stronger resource to teach something as contextually loaded as language.

To be sure, our present system of learning from abstracted experience depends on a kind of isolation from the experience itself. Thus, we have the classroom instead of the apprenticeship for our "higher" education. Such isolation is doubtless appropriate for certain types of subjects, such as mathematics or philosophy. But, in learning a language, some means must be found to compensate for the spatial and psychological removal of the students from the real world. The classroom does furnish artifacts like doors, windows, chairs, lights, and blackboards to aid the teaching process. But when you've identified and talked about all those things, the students have all introduced themselves and greeted one another, and you've covered the first six pages of _Easy English_ with blackboard footnotes--where can the pursuit of reality in language go from there? In most cases, the answer is nowhere. Without an imaginative teacher, it stays right where it is--recycling through the "Basic Five."

Even with the best of teachers working within limited media, the correct learning of abstract vocabulary words, such as _surprise_, _sadness_, and _thought_, is miraculous. The problem is analogous to the way the chimpanzee, Washoe, in being taught the American Sign Language word for "baby", (in the presence of one), quickly applied the word to dolls, as a human might do. However, she also applied it to photographs and miniatures of all kinds. She had correctly assimilated the feature "miniaturization" for the word, but, with rather limited context for applying "baby", she began using it "correctly" for many things which lack the flesh-and-blood feature we generally add. Errors of overgeneralization are almost a certainty when teaching is done with minimal context, even if humans are a little more sophisticated than chimpanzees in organizing their semantic features.

Teaching greetings, identification of concrete nouns of available object, and the correct use of numbers, time, days, and dates can probably be accomplished within the conventional media. Extension to more abstract language commonly relies on reading material--the textbook--as the artificial context. If this is at the university level, the result is a student trained in classroom-and-library survival who may have great difficulty dealing with restaurants, movies, and landlords. A host of nagging problems of monolingually extending vocabulary and grammar so that one can function well in the community simply can't be dealt with without calling upon more realistic teaching media. In fact, it is extremely doubtful that any of the Basic Five--save the teacher and the students--is essential for teaching linguistic survival in a foreign country. For students who are well equipped with learning strategies, even the teacher might be dispensed with.

It may be, then, that we should turn to other media when their particular expressive value warrants it. For example, language situations take on a new dimension when presented in a projected medium, and a great deal of information is presented very compactly. The purely verbal presentation of the sentence, "Ramon had a dead battery", may get the meaning across if the students are shown a picture of a battery and if they are used to some of the weird conventions of English. That is, the students will have to know that we sometimes substitute ourselves for our cars ("*Ramon* has....", "I'm parked..."), and that *dead* and *die* can refer to certain inanimate objects ("My car died", "The phone is dead"). But the additional dramatic redundancy of a lesson based on slide visuals of Ramon's dead battery, how he came to have it, and what he did about it, would ensure that understanding is achieved for the vocabulary coextensive with the situation. If the presentation includes dialogue practice (Ramon and his cousin Julio, who is a garage mechanic) and participatory role play (What would you say to the garage mechanic if...?), the student will have a good chance at associating the vocabulary/grammar with the situation just as a native speaker would do.

Even if one picture doesn't contain quite a thousand words, lessons which exploit the photographic medium can approach the kind of information density that is required if the language is to be effectively contextualized within the allotted time and place. Locations, objects, labels, comparative sizes and capacities, facial expressions, and actions can be accurately captured and "described" by a photograph in a way which is impossible to do as efficiently in a classroom. An accompanying sound tape supplies an additional dimension of contrasting voice qualities, intonation, volume (signifying distance), and contextual sound effects.

If the projected medium is properly exploited, the resulting form of the lesson will bear little resemblance to that of an audiolingual lesson with audiovisual aids. Most notably, except for such explanation of grammatical rules as may be needed, there will be almost no time for context-free sentence drill. Wherever possible the language will stem from the situation: the vocabulary will be taught in "situational clusters" and, depending on the sequencing of the situations, some of the grammar may not be taught in the traditional order.

Here is an example of a narrative lesson, focussing on comparison, a dialogue lesson on infinitives, and a "drill" lesson on mass/count nouns:

1. Narrative

(Comparison; review of a few, a lot--intermediate level)

Method: First the slides are presented at a moderate speed with taped or live (scripted) sound. Then the visuals are presented a second time with questions (What is expensive?" etc.) to cue the students to reconstruct the narrative. Following the second stage, the lesson can branch into contextual drill, dialogue, or composition work, depending on the needs of the class. A full-page newspaper ad can be used for drill and discussion. The homework assignment is, of course, to check out the prices on a list of items.

Sound	Visual
1. Henry has to buy a lot of things at the supermarket	1. Wide Angle shot of Henry in a supermarket interior
2. but everything is very expensive.	2. Medium Shot of Henry looking at vegetable prices.
3. Mushrooms are expensive	3. Close Up of mushroom display, including price prominent near the top.
4. and avocadoes are expensive.	4. Same with avocado display.
5. But apples are cheap.	5. Same with apple display.
6. Oranges are cheap	6. Same with orange display.
7. but onions are cheaper than oranges.	7. Same with onion display.
8. Henry is getting a few oranges and a lot of onions.	8. Medium Shot of Henry lifting a large bag of onions into a shopping cart already containing a small bag of oranges.
9. Mushrooms are more expensive than avocadoes.	9. Medium Shot of Henry standing by the mushroom and avocado displays looking perplexed.
10. So Henry is getting a few mushrooms and a lot of avocadoes.	10. As in 8.
11. This cantaloupe is heavy	11. M.S. of Henry hefting cantaloupe.
12. but this watermelon is heavier.	12. M.S. of Henry trying to lift enormous watermelon.
13. These mushrooms are light,	13. C.U. of Henry's bag of mushrooms on the scale, which reads 3/4 pound.
14. but these beansprouts are lighter.	14. Same with bag of beansprouts. Scale reads 1/2 pound.
15. These apples aren't ripe. They're green.	15. M.S. of Henry scowling at a green apple, with the display in the background.

16. These apples are ripe. They're riper than the others.	16. M.A. of Henry looking satisfied at a ripe red apple. Display in background.
17. Now Henry has a lot of groceries.	17. M.S. of Henry and his full shopping cart.
18. He has meat, milk, eggs, bread, fruit, and vegetables.	18. C.U. of shopping cart in which the new items are identifiable.
19. But Martha has more groceries. She has six children.	19. M.S. of Martha and cart, which is overflowing.
20. She has a lot more groceries than Henry.	20. Medium Close Up of cart only.
21. Henry is paying for his groceries. They cost a lot.	21. M.S. of Henry at check stand, showing $25 on cash register.
22. But they don't cost more than Martha's!	22. Same of Martha, showing $40 on cash register.

2. Dialogue

(Pseudo-auxiliaries: want to, gonna, have to, get to -- advanced level)

Method: The visuals and sound are presented several times, as in the previous example. The students take the roles in the second and third presentations by groups. This choral stage is followed by handing out a ditto of the dialogue, which the students practice in pairs. The teacher will check linguistic performance during this paired practice. When the students "perform" the dialogue before the class, they will be encouraged to use their own words and improvise on the dialogue as a role play. In this particular lesson, the visuals would not be used in this stage---the real students will take the place of the simulated ones. (If the visual format omitted the "actors", then the pictures could be used as settings or cues for the role play stage.) The aim is for the students to be able to deal with the language in a relaxed manner---not to "model" the language for the others. Whatever losses in accuracy may occur will be exchanged for confidence in their communicative ability. At this stage of improvised dialogue, videotaping has been found to be an excellent means of providing the students with feedback on the quality of their linguistic performance.

Sound	Visual
1. (George): Do you want to go to the movies, Hilda?	1. Medium-Long Shot of George and Hilda standing on a sidewalk "downtown".
2. (Hilda): I'd like to, but I'm broke. You'll have to pay for both of us.	2. Medium Shot of Hilda, face to camera.
3. (George): Well, I'm nearly broke, too. Maybe we could get something to eat, anyway.	3. Reverse angle to George.
4. (Hilda): Oh, good! I never get to eat out!	4. T[illegible] Shot, Hilda facing camera, looking pleased.
5. (George): Where would you like to go?	5. Two Shot, reverse angle to George's face.

6. (Hilda): I'd like to eat at the Pizza Palace. They're going to have movies tonight.	6. Medium-Long Shot of Hilda, pointing to Pizza Palace sign in background.
7. (George): The sign says it's closed. We'll have to go somewhere else.	7. Close Up of hand-lettered sign in window.
8. (Hilda): Do you want to get a hamburger at Woody's?	8. Medium Shot of Hilda and George, Hilda pointing out of picture in the direction of Woody's.
9. (George): Yeah, let's do that. Then we won't have to wait so long.	9. Two Shot, George facing camera.
10. (Hilda): And Woody's is cheap. We'll get to go to the movies, too!	10. Two Shot, reverse angle, Hilda looks joyful.

3. Drill

(Mass/Count nouns -- beginning level, review)

Method: This will be a situation where the language is typically, and naturally, limited to one structure: "Rafael drove his brother's car to the filling station yesterday. How much gasoline did he get?.... How many quarts of oil did he put in?..." The presentation will be followed by question-answer and improvised dialogue: When Rafael gets home, his brother, Pablo, asks him all the how much/many questions to make sure he didn't forget anything. After practicing the improvised dialogue, the class will do a written fill-in exercise of the "cloze" type with one possible dialogue (on either a prepared ditto, or from the blackboard). This lesson will follow a lesson on food nouns, and will precede work with nouns for building materials (wood, glass, glue, plaster, nails), clothes (cloth, soap, dye, thread...) and abstract nouns (English, biology, politics, dishonesty...) around which more contexts will be built.

Sound	Visual
1. This is the Pacific Avenue Filling Station.	1. Long Shot of filling station.
2. Fred and Bill work here, and they sell gasoline, oil, tires, and sparkplugs.	2. Medium Shot of Fred and Bill servicing a car.
3. Yesterday, Rafael drove his brother's car to the filling station.	3. Medium Shot of Rafael driving into the station.
4. First he got some gasoline.	4. Close Up of gas hose in filler.
5. How much gasoline did he get?	5. Black slide (no image).
6. He got ten gallons.	6. Close Up of meter on gas pump showing ten gallons.
7. Then he got some oil.	7. Medium Shot of front of car, hood up, with Fred holding dip stick.
8. How much oil did he get?	8. Black slide.
9. He got two quarts.	9. Medium Shot of Fred carrying two cans toward camera.

10. Oh, oh! He needed a tire. And the spare was bad, too.	10. Close Up of Rafael looking worriedly at a worn out tire.
11. How many tires did he get?	11. Black slide.
12. He got two tires.	12. Long Shot of Fred wheeling out tires.
13. He needed some spark plugs.	13. Close Up of Fred examining spark plugs.
14. How many spark plugs did he get?	14. Black slide.
15. He got six spark plugs.	15. Close Up of spark plugs on fender beside engine, waiting to be put in.
16. After all that, he needed some money.	16. Medium Shot of Rafael and Fred, the latter smiling, and Rafael looking doubtfully into wallet.
17. How much money did he pay"	17. Black slide.
18. He paid $53.	18. Medium Shot, Rafael handing cash to Fred.

The examples have been based on the projected medium with 35mm slides and sound tape. This is only one of many possible media in which one can construct or adapt lesson materials. The addition of videotape was suggested in the second lesson. Video can be both a tool for providing a very powerful form of feedback for the students and a presentation medium for materials which require a verité quality. If present trends continue, the availability of equipment for videotape will soon be as universal as that for sound tape.

The projected slide medium was chosen for illustration here because the amount of lesson equipment required is minimal, relative to its impact and the amount and kind of information potential. Though the choice of materials and equipment for production of such materials may require additional skill (to be discussed in a later article), the exploitation of existent media for the audiovisual lesson in general is limited only by the teacher's imagination. For example, newspapers and magazines are a rich source of pictorial, graphic, and print material for ESL application. Such material may be used in small groups in original form, or duplicated on ditto masters, overhead transparencies, or slides for class work. Both newspapers and TV represent a part of the students' normal media experience, and should also be part of the classroom experience.

Most schools have access to a variety of motion picture films. Few of these will be fully suitable for any but advanced students. But within a properly planned lesson, including "pointer" questions given before the film presentation and well-prepared discussion afterwards, quite a lot of appreciation can be gained of "complex" film topics, even at intermediate English levels. However, the teacher has more adaptive control over filmstrip materials, whose visual and sound impact can be almost as good as that of films. Many commercial filmstrip kits are now available, dealing with current issues as well as "survival" matters. Since filmstrips can be run at a variable rate and the teacher can provide "live" commentary, the students have a much greater chance at understanding the experience.

Some audiovisual kits include sound discs or cassettes which can easily be adapted to ESL by re-recording, editing and providing voice-over supplementation to the "real" sound.

Though even "abstract" media, such as print, may be appropriate for "abstract" objectives, such as learning to read, a number of modes should be exploited for getting the same material across. Some media may fit the material better than others, but even print is made more impressive when projected, depicted on signs, instructions, or advertisements, or shown on various realia, such as newspapers or employment applications. The teacher's task is to handle adeptly a variety of possibilities. This may involve switching from realia to slides to dialogue to videotape during a one-hour period. Though one needn't overwhelm the class with media in order to provide some representation of the chaos of language as it's normally encountered, one should make use of the associative quality of each medium and choose it to conform to the students' needs. As in most types of learning, the experience is the message, and ESL is no exception.

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Films: (adaptable to ESL)

UCLA Media Center
Film Library Number

7193 The Forgotten American (color TV documentary about the Navajo, Hopi and Zuni. 25 min.)

10577 Consumerism: Let the Seller Beware (Nader interview and voice-over documentary, color, 22 min.)

7437 Decision at Delano (Chavez and the problems of migrant workers, color, 26 min.)

10567 Fifty-one Percent (a woman in a professional/managerial position, color, 25 min.)

10641 I Don't Think I Said Much (a Japanese-American gardener from various viewpoints, color, 15 min.)

Filmstrips: (most of which will need editing)

Denoyer-Geppert Audio-Visuals. Chicago, 1972. (filmstrips and discs):
"Power of my spirit--The American Indian" (Buffy Saint-Marie narrating and singing)
"Women: the forgotten majority" (Gloria Steinem)
"Is Democracy Alive and Well?"
"New York City: an environmental case study"
"Lifestyle 2000: what will we take to the future"
etc.

Images of Man. Inglewood Cliffs, N.J.: Scholastic Magazine Inc., 1972. (cassettes, filmstrips, and pictures). On major changes in society from the viewpoints of selected photographers:
"Toward the Margin of Life" (Cornell Capa)
"Voyages of Self Discovery" (Bruce Davidson)
"The Uncertain Day" (Don McCullin)
"Between Birth and Death" (W. Eugene Smith)

Modern Consumer Education. New York: Grolier Educational Corp., 1974. (cassettes, wall charts, workbooks). ("Interviews" with high-pressure salesmen and similar episodes. A bit overembellished for entertainment, but usable.)

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY IN DEVELOPING NATIONS

Thomas P. Gorman

Introduction:

In the past decade language planning processes have attracted increasing scholarly attention. To some degree, this development has been a response to the needs of newly independent and linguistically diverse nations faced by what is considered to be the imperative need to attain economic self sufficiency, social integration and cultural autonomy. In such nations, the need for directed social change is widely accepted, as is the function of centralized planning as a component and sometimes a catalyst of such change.

In almost all developing states the formal educational system has been deliberately utilized as one of the principle instruments of social change and as one of the primary means through which the goals of national unity and operational efficiency could be effected. Typically, the system has also been subjected to radical change, both in the direction of overall expansion and with regard to such curriculum reform as is consonant with the value systems of the new nations and their more evident needs. Educational development has also given rise to complex forms of unplanned change which have resulted in structural changes within the societies in question, of which only the grosser manifestations are generally recognized, or understood.[1]

The formulation of policy regarding the language of instruction to be used at different stages of the educational process is a prerequisite to curriculum change and development. In the last several years, therefore, numerous independent states have been obliged to make policy decisions in this regard, particularly with respect to the selection or allocation of different languages as media or subjects of instruction. These decisions can frequently be interpreted as reflecting prior political decisions that have been taken with regard to the function of the educational system in fostering values associated with communal ethnicity and the wider valuation of nationality respectively; and its role in meeting needs consequent upon the nation's membership in a supranational, technologically-oriented civilization. Where there is no national consensus on the relative significance of such values or needs, allocative decisions concerning educational language policy have frequently become the focus of political activity, to an extent that has prevented or inhibited certain types of long-range planning. In most cases, however, policy decisions have been arrived at which take into account conflicting values and needs so that, in a particular state, instruction might be organized at successive stages in the ancestral language of the students, in a 'national' or 'linking' language with wider communica-

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tive functions, and in a second or foreign language which would provide access to the literature of specialized educational areas. In these cases the basic policy problems to be dealt with concern the selection of appropriate means to implement the policy decisions arrived at.

Numerous scholars have provided descriptions and in some cases, analyses of the policy choices made in developing states so that the general policy trends in countries in South and Southeast Asia and Africa, for example, can be readily discerned (Noss, 1967; Miller, 1968; Das Gupta, 1969; Fishman, 1969b; Whiteley, 1971; etc.). The literature concerning the use of English as a subject or medium of instruction in particular states is especially voluminous (see Bibliography), and in view of the subject of the Jordan survey the majority of the materials I consider will relate to this issue. Until recently, however, language specialists have given less attention to the systematic study of policy making agencies or processes per se as opposed to policy outcomes in particular states. The formulation of educational language policy and other aspects of policy planning have usually been discussed without reference to general planning theory or to a theory of language planning. However, through the collaborative effort of a group of scholars, primarily influenced by the work of Haugen, Ferguson and Fishman, the theoretical framework is now being developed in relation to which such processes can be described with some degree of systematicity (cf. Haugen, 1966a, 1966b; Rubin and Jernudd, 1971; Fishman, 1973; Rubin and Shuy, 1973; Das Gupta, 1970; Das Gupta, et al, forthcoming).

The other major advances relevant to the study of educational language policy concern the development of conceptual schemes relating to the description of language behavior at the societal level (Ferguson, 1959, 1966; Stewart, 1962; Ferguson and Gumperz, 1960; Gumperz, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1969; Fishman, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1972; Cooper. 1969; etc.); and the application of techniques of survey methodology to the assembly of data on language use and attitudes in linguistic communities in a number of developing states.

Using the Jordan Survey as a point of reference and departure, I would like to discuss features of a number of studies that have served to indicate the relevance of such theoretical or methodological developments to the study of educational language policy and refer to procedures adopted by individual scholars concerned with the same issue, when these seem to have particular research potential.

But first, let me define my use of the term educational language policy, as it is open to a number of interpretations. The study of educational language policy is first concerned with the guiding principles that are adopted by those responsible for formulating policy. In many cases, however, such principles are not explicit and have to be inferred from the interacting set of secondary policies and decisions that derive from them. It is not always empirically useful, therefore, to attempt to distinguish policy formulation from policy execution or implementation. These are often best regarded as two stages of regulative activity rather than two different kinds of decision-making. The study of educational language policy then, as I interpret it, encompasses all phases of the regulative process from the statement of general objectives to an examination of the means by which these objectives are realized. This was the case in the survey of English language policy in Jordan.

The Jordan Survey:

At this stage I wish to draw attention to certain features of organization and conduct of the survey which could be considered,in a literal sense, exemplary, and subsequently discuss the relevance of certain of these features to future enquiries relating to the planning of educational language policy. My observations concern (i) the definition of the general objectives of the survey, (ii) the contacts established between the policymakers and advisors, (iii) procedures adopted in policy appraisal, (iv) the means employed to collect and process data on language use and language attitudes, and (v) the presentation of the findings and recommendations.

(i) The objectives of the survey were clearly delimited before it was undertaken; they were attainable in the time available for investigation; and they were authorized by the appropriate authorities. The terms of reference specified that the team should make available an information document which would explicitly state the goals of the national English language policy and describe its implementation in the school system and elsewhere. Since the document was intended to serve as one point of reference for future planning the report contains an evaluation of the effects of current policies with suggestions for future policy alternatives.

(ii) I think it appropriate to refer to aspects of the working relationship between the relevant Jordanian officials and the team of advisers since the 'transactive' relationship between advisor and client is an issue I will consider later in some detail. The authorities of the Jordanian Ministry of Education established guiding principles and priorities for action. Liaison with the Ministry of Education was facilitated by the cooperation and advice of Miss Jayyusi and Mr. Tawil of the English Language section of the Curriculum Directorate, whose general knowledge of the social context and of specific features of the educational system complemented the technical expertise of the members of the team and who made a valuable contribution in the specification of policy alternatives in the report. The Department of Statistics provided access to information obtained in a recent survey of Jordan manpower and made available the services of trained interviewers and personnel who assisted with the design of survey instruments and who had major responsibility for coding and processing the data.

An interim version of the report was presented to the Ministry of Education in December, 1972, and discussed at a conference of senior personnel at Aqaba in January, 1973. The Jordanian educators then provided a review and analysis of the survey recommendations in terms of their practical, economic and political feasibility, and modifications were made to them in the light of these observations. As a consequence of the report, a policy-making body was established to oversee the implementation of the recommendations that were made and accepted.

(iii) The survey involved, firstly, an appraisal of policy statements regarding the aims of English instruction, primarily from the point of view of their clarity, scope and specificity, and their compatibility with other relevant policies, in particular with those relating to the aims of Jordanian education in general. Secondly, the project dealt with the feasibility of these policies; and I would like to elaborate upon this aspect of the enquiry briefly. The team considered the extent to which the aims of instruction were effected in five curricula: the primary-preparatory, and the literary, scientific-commercial, industrial and agricultural streams at secondary level. Two major sets of questions are involved in a feasibility study of this kind. These are a) are the goals practicable given such factors as the material conditions in the schools, the qualifications of the teachers, the length and intensity of courses, and the content of the textbooks used? b) are the goals appropriate in terms of the discernible needs of the students both within the educational system and in the society for which school is a preparation?

Chapters I - IV of the Jordan survey report are concerned primarily with the first set of questions. Particular emphasis is given to the question of the pedagogical adequacy of the materials used and to the issue of teacher preparation. The method of textbook analysis and evaluation allows for judgments to be made regarding the adequacy with which language skills are introduced and sequenced. Some such system of analysis is required since an essential concern in an investigation of this kind is the degree to which curricula at different educational levels are integrated. The members of the team drew attention to a lack of integration, for example, in the anomalous position of the students of science in the university, whose courses and examinations are conducted in English, yet who receive less instruction in English both at university and secondary school level than students specializing in literary studies.

(iv) Chapters V - VI of the report detail the results of a study of the reported language behavior and language attitudes of a section of the Jordanian work force. The evaluation of features of the curriculum in terms of the reported use and expressed need for English by these respondents represents an innovation which has a number of applications, some of which will be discussed later in the paper.

Certain procedures employed in the field survey that served to expedite data processing and analysis deserve commentary. The questionnaires were developed in collaboration with a systems analyst in the Department of Statistics and they were designed so as to allow for direct transfer of the data to computer cards. Additionally, the form of the tables specifying bivariate or multivariate relationships between the various responses was specified before the collection of the data, and the necessary programming was completed while data collection was in progress. Because these measures were taken,the actual data processing was completed in less than one month. The team members would not wish to overemphasize the significance of such rapidity, or course. Clearly, unless the right questions are asked in the first place the speed with which they are processed is of little consequence; but it is equally clear that the practical utility of sociolinguistic data, and in particular data on language attitudes, is likely to increase in direct proportion to its contemporaneity.

The questionnaire used in the field survey was designed so that it could be completed relatively quickly. There were only two open-ended questions, both of which had a checking function and neither of which was processed. The Arabic-speaking interviewers were familiarized with the questionnaire and given appropriate orientation before the field study began.

(v) The basic findings and recommendations of the team were set out in the form of an interim report, as previously mentioned. In keeping with its practical purpose the style of the report is relatively free from technical complexity and the method of presentation of the statistical data obtained is correspondingly simple.

Further Applications:

Certain features of the organization and design of the Jordan survey might appropriately be replicated in studies with related objectives. Such studies are likely to become a component of evaluation programs concerned with incremental policy change rather than with basic allocative decisions; but every study will naturally require the development of different investigative approaches for a number of reasons. One of these is the fact that policy makers in developing countries are rarely confronted with linguistic situations of the simplicity of that of Jordan, where Arabic is the first language of practically all teachers and students and English the only foreign language taught extensively in the schools. Again, the research procedures employed in Jordan were determined by such factors as the terms of reference of the team and the time available for inquiry; so that, for example, classroom observation techniques were precluded because schools were not in session at the time the data was gathered. In this section of the paper, therefore, I would like to refer to certain procedures adopted in other sociolinguistically-oriented surveys and field studies that have been carried out in developing countries and attempt to derive from the experience of those involved, as I interpret it, some tentative remarks concerning the conduct of the study of educational language policy generally. The tenor of my remarks will be directed towards policy advisers--who have typically in the past been expatriate and academic--both of which factors tend to affect the perspective from which problems are identified and the nature of the solutions proposed to remedy these. Clearly, in an increasing number of studies in the future the senior research workers will be local scholars and this Introduction has been written with this fact in mind.

The first point I wish to make relates to the issue I referred to earlier regarding the relationship between those advising on and those deciding on developments in educational language policy. Whether the advisers are expatriate or local personnel, it seems to be the case that in the successful policy survey the relationship between adviser and policy maker (or, more generally, between the adviser and those who liaise with the policy maker) is likely to be a transactive one; both in the sense that the relationship needs to be characterized by mutual learning and mutual respect

(Friedman, 1971) and in the sense that the procedures adopted by the adviser should serve to provide the policymaker with the information most relevant to decision-making at each stage of the planning process. It is in terms of the interaction between the two sets of participants that I would first like to discuss the planning of educational language policy.

For the purposes of discussion I will assume that three putative planning stages can generally be recognized in the study of policy making processes, each of which has a number of subdivisions. These stages excluding the stage of orientation might be characterized as follows: policy appraisal; policy formulation and determination; policy implementation, evaluation and review. The generalization will normally apply whether advisers are primarily concerned with language allocation or language teaching, i.e. with the selection of particular languages as media or subjects of instruction, or the selection of the means by which such languages might be taught effectively.

The responsibilities in a conventional planning framework would be theoretically distributed among: the politician, who would define objectives and choose alternatives; the adviser or planner, who would analyze problems and propose alternatives; and the bureaucrat, who would implement the selected programs. The trichotomy can be misleading, however, firstly because the distinction between policy making and policy administration is by no means complete, as I have argued earlier. And, secondly, because it does not take sufficient account of the need for the adviser to be concerned with the practical, operational consequences of his proposals and with the processes of evaluation and review. I would rather suggest that at each planning stage advisers and policymakers should be regarded as having responsibilities that are in some respects complementary; and I will attempt to delineate these. In doing so, I wish to emphasize strongly that I am not suggesting that the undertakings discussed in relation to each stage would be appropriately applied in all surveys of educational language policy, or that the sequence of activities is one that should be adopted in such studies.

Because of my primary concern in this paper with the functions of the adviser and with the possible applicability of completed research to future studies, the main focus of the discussion will relate to investigative techniques adopted in the process of policy appraisal. This emphasis does not necessarily reflect the significance of this stage in relation to the overall plan; and indeed it is frequently difficult to convince policymakers of the relevance of certain types of background research, which may appear to them to be inordinately expensive and essentially impracticable unless adequately explained.

Stage 1.

At this stage I envisage that policymakers will be primarily concerned with the identification of problems and with deciding on the degree of priority to be given to their solution in the light of current needs and resources and with regard to public sentiment or public demands. The development of a tentative planning strategy to take account of such problems may involve the setting up of a policy advisory group, with consequent task definition.

Adviser Orientation and Background Research:

It seems unnecessary to make the point that an adviser should ideally have some personal experience in the area or region he is to work in since much time can be wasted acquiring information about everyday affairs and adjusting to new conditions (Curle, 1968).

A great deal of exploratory research needs to be completed before field work proper is undertaken and the documents required at this stage are frequently more readily available in major libraries outside the country concerned than in the research area. The adviser might concern himself initially with the study of available documentary materials relating to educational resources and the educational system, and to such economic, cultural, sociopolitical, historical and geographical factors as appear to be relevant to the subject of study.

The criteria of relevance will be provided by the terms of reference, if any, specified by the policy maker and - if the survey has an explanatory rather than a descriptive purpose - by preliminary hypotheses he may develop regarding the relationship of particular variables. The study will be undertaken in the recognition that 'institutional and cultural factors, far more than technological factors set the problems and limit the solutions of our time' (Vickers, 1965:110). It would also seem essential to make a systematic review at this stage of documents relating to language description and language use, and an analysis of press content over a period of time is likely to provide insights into prevalent attitudes or opinions among a segment of the population.

Language related policies applied in sectors other than that of education need to be documented and the relationship or lack of it between the decisions taken in various sectors examined (Whiteley, 1972). These may show a high degree of consonance or, as is generally the case, apparent incompatibility at different levels. The interests and activities of agencies and associational groups concerned with aspects of language policy planning or counterplanning, or with language codification, elaboration or cultivation should be identified (Neustupný, 1970; Haugen, 1970; Fishman, 1973; etc.). The advisers also need to have an understanding of decision-making processes and planning styles that characterize policy making bodies at different planning levels (Criper and Ladefoged, 1970; Friedman, 1971). It will also be relevant to detail the activities of agencies involved directly or indirectly in processes of language dissemination--such as agencies of the press, radio and publishing houses--since their influence or potential impact on patterns of language use may be considerable (Karam, forthcoming, etc.). In some areas the functions of foreign international agencies concerned with language teaching also need to be recognized (Noss, 1967:41). A graphic depiction of the relative functions of nineteen agencies concerned with educational language planning is given in Sibayan, 1973.

Finally, a study of documents relating specifically to educational language policy might be undertaken. Since contemporary educational policies in the majority of developing states are influenced,and sometimes determined by policies previously adopted by colonial authorities, it is generally helpful to study current policy in its historical context. More significantly, such a study can provide a basis for assessing reasons for the success or failure of educational policies adopted in circumstances similar in certain significant respects to those under review. Historical study also often serves to clarify the reasons policy change is contemplated or required at the time of investigation. Each of the reports on the country studies undertaken during the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa will contain a brief commentary on the effects of colonial educational language policy, and the Kenya volume contains an extensive review of relevant documents issued by the British authorities (Gorman, 1974b). Reviews of policies adopted by other colonial powers in Africa are given in Spencer, 1971, and Scanlon, 1964, passim. The literature on colonial policies implemented in South and Southeast Asia is voluminous. Myrdal, 1963, contains an overall survey of this area; other significant studies are listed in the bibliography.

Policy Appraisal:

The historical study of policy development would lead to an appraisal of current statements of policy objectives, goals and targets insofar as these are explicit. It is frequently necessary to distinguish statements of policy that are intended to be operationally realistic from those that are essentially exhortatory (Gorman, 1973). For this distinction to be made the administrative functions and planning authority of the bodies making the statements need to be understood (Das Gupta, 1973). In particular circumstances, the feasibility of objectives might be judged in terms of such factors as 1) the length, intensity and design of courses of language instruction; and the examinations, if any, related to these courses; 2) the size and composition of the classes and the methods and techniques employed to teach them; 3) the qualifications and morale of the teachers and the system of teacher inspection and supervision; 4) the adequacy of texts used and the availability of library resources and of teaching aids, audio-visual and otherwise; 5) other non-instructional factors such as relate to the effectiveness of school and departmental administration, the educational supply system, the physical plant, etc.

Despite the fact that these considerations are central in any appraisal of educational policy,there would seem to be little advantage in itemizing criteria in this paper that might be used in a study of method analysis and teaching analysis (Mackey, 1965), or,of course,content analysis, since the weight of traditional scholarship in the field of language teaching is concentrated in these areas and in the related area of teacher education. Textbook analysis and evaluation is also a subject to which extensive attention has been given in a number of studies, theoretical and otherwise. The suggestions provided by Murison-Bowie, for example, concerning the adequacy of language texts used in Ethiopian schools and his proposals regarding the preparation of texts in English with regard to other content areas in a secondary curriculum raise issues of general relevance to textbook design in developing countries (Murison-Bowie, forthcoming). I do not propose to discuss these issues further, however, or that of the utilization of other teaching aids (such as radio and television) except to comment that an inventory of textbooks available in different languages can sometimes give a useful indication of areas in which materials development is required (cf. Smock, 1970).

Field Studies, School-based:

Many of the types of inquiry discussed up to this point could be carried out as desk-research; but in order to ascertain the degree to which policy statements are implemented in practice, and to gain additional information about such factors as teaching and student performance,it is necessary to undertake field studies, if this is feasible.

Numerous research workers have used classroom observation techniques to obtain information about teaching methods and teacher attainments (Wingard, 1963; Jacobs, 1966; Ladefoged, et al, 1971; Lebman, et al, 1972; Hemphill, 1974; Ohannessian, forthcoming; etc.). The use of check lists to itemize characteristics of lessons observed according to selected criteria is a common device. In his study in Colombia, Stansfield attempted to formalize his characterization of teacher behavior by utilizing an adaptation of Flander's System for Interaction Analysis adopted for computer processing, and the technique,though complex to utilize and to interpret in the form that was devised,has considerable research potential (Stansfield, 1973). The development of standard techniques for evaluating language teaching programs and developing teacher profiles, such as those elaborated by Hayes, Lambert and Tucker, should provide a basis for the development of more effective methods of classroom evaluation (Hayes, et al, 1967). Many investigators have sought the judgment of teachers or school administrators on aspects of policy implementation or policy change through structured interviews or the use of written questionnaires (Otanes and Sibayan, 1969; Gorman, 1974a; Bowen, forthcoming; Ohannessian, forthcoming); less frequently the judgments of students or their parents have been solicited with regard to these issues (Lebman, et al, 1972).

Many research projects have also involved the collection of data relating to the proficiency with which respondents use or claim to use the languages they 'know'. This has generally entailed the elicitation of proficiency ratings with which students, and in some cases their parents, characterize their use of different languages. As with all self-report measures of this kind, a basic problem to be faced is that of verifying the accuracy of the reports. This has been attempted by such techniques as guided interviews or by asking respondents to complete tests that would allow for approximate attainment rankings to be made. However, research workers concerned with assessing the language skills of school children have tended to rely on the use of written tests involving tasks analogous to those used in school activities, with particular emphasis being given to the assessment of reading skills (Jacobs, 1966; Ladefoged, et al, 1971; Gorman, 1974; Bender, et al, forthcoming; etc.). The use of cloze tests for the measuring of general reading skills in two languages has been found convenient in some cases (Gorman, 1968; Bowen, 1969). 'Indirect' measures of proficiency such as those discussed in MacNamara (1967), which can be generally categorized as tests of fluency, flexibility and dominance have not generally been employed in any of the projects under reference.[2] Factors that might appropriately be taken into account in the measurement of bilingual proficiency and instruments of measurement have been extensively discussed and it would not be pertinent to attempt to discuss them here (Cervenka, 1967; Cooper, 1971; etc.).

A number of studies have attempted to obtain information about preschool acquisition of second languages or dialects by children and, in some cases, to relate this to methods and courses used to teach standard languages(LePage, 1968; Tabouret-Keller, 1968; Craig, 1973; Gorman, 1974a; etc.). The approaches developed by R. L. LePage and his colleagues in their study of the speech of 280 children in the Cayo district of the British Honduras are of methodological interest in that a variety of techniques to obtain speech samples of various kinds including casual conversation, story-telling, reading of prepared texts and word lists was made use of; and they are of considerable theoretical interest, not least in that they may serve to indicate the linguistic correlates of a child's choice of 'identity' in a multiethnic community in a Creole/contact situation. The work is also intended to have practical relevance to the training of teachers, particularly, one would assume, with regard to the question of their attitude to users of Creole (Tabouret-Keller, 1970/2; LePage, 1972).

In view of the acknowledged importance of the peer group in establishing or reinforcing patterns of language use, some scholars have made informal attempts to observe processes of student interaction in the classroom and outside it (Gorman, 1974c), but the efficacy of such procedures depends on the development of more systematized observation measures, such as those developed by Cohen in his work in California (Cohen, forthcoming). As far as I am aware, no use has been made of observation techniques to obtain information regarding students' learning strategies or communicative styles that appear to be derived from preschool interaction (Cohen, 1969; Maccoby and Modiano, 1969; Brandis and Henderson, 1969). This is clearly an area of inquiry in which local scholars would be in a position to make a more authoritative contribution than visiting research workers.

Studies of the motivational or orientation factors considered to influence students' language learning have frequently been undertaken. A typical example is contained in Lehman, et al, 1972. The authors of the Philippine survey questionnaires constructed a 19-item scale for this purpose, which more adequately details the complex motivational factors that might conceivably affect learning in such a situation than do most such scales.

Field Studies, Community-based:

The methods of data-gathering mentioned thus far have been methods that would tend to make use of procedures derived from what has been termed 'interactional' sociolinguistics. However, it is in the utilization of the methodological approaches associated with 'correlational' sociolinguistics that the studies of educational language policy in the last decade differ most obviously from earlier investigations. Because of the paucity of data available about patterns of language use in multilingual communities in most developing states, a number of descriptive surveys have been undertaken to obtain information about the linguistic repertoires and language attitudes of community members, and to establish a basis for relating language choice behavior to domains of social interaction. Clearly, if the information provided about the use of different languages and varieties for particular functions and in different societal domains is sufficiently detailed, policy makers are provided with a further set of criteria by which to judge the degree to which instructional programs relate to broad social needs (Fishman and Lovas, 1970). The need for such information about reported use and expressed needs as is provided in the Jordan survey has frequently been acknowledged (Jacobs, 1966; Holloway and Perren, 1968:33; Gorman, 1970:6; Fishman and Lovas, 1970). The difficulties involved in obtaining information that might be of direct relevance to curriculum design are manifold, however; even when adequate instruments have been devised to obtain information on the use of a specified language for particular communicative functions in specific settings.

Dr. Tucker draws attention in the Jordan survey to the need for intensive follow-up interviews to determine the specific ways in which English is used in various business settings. If this were undertaken, however, there would still remain the problem of describing with some degree of precision the communicative skill requirements of particular job positions and the job levels to which they pertain. Future investigators will no doubt develop techniques for accomplishing this task, possibly drawing on methods used by specialists in Task Analysis and related fields as suggested in Jacobs, 1966. An alternative approach to the same problem, which the Jordan survey team adopted, was to ask respondents to specify the language skills that they considered requisite to the activities at work and to indicate the degree to which instructional programs had equipped them with the skills they identified.

The investigation of opinions, attitudes and preferences with regard to languages, language groups, and language programs has been one concern of a number of studies relating to educational language policies. Wölck attempted, for example, to employ a rating scale using the semantic differential technique developed by Osgood, using samples of conversational speech to elicit attitudes towards users of Spanish and Quechua (Wölck, 1973); but most researchers have tended to make use of questionnaires to obtain information regarding preferences that respondents might have between instructional methods employing the use of different languages, or with regard to the use of different languages to teach different subjects (Sibayan, 1971b); or to elicit preference data regarding the relative instrumental value that languages might have. Because of the lack of congruity that frequently prevails between expressions of attitude and behavior, the use of commitment measures (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970) which concern the respondent's willingness to perform a particular action or type of behavior would seem to have some advantages over less action-directed inquiries, but I know of no project in a developing country in which these have been utilized. Fishman has also advanced the suggestion that data collected through the observational method could be formally processed like data obtained via more formalized instruments if attempts were made to record the data in more operationalized and 'public' form than has generally been the case (op. cit., 1970). The point brings us once again to the question of the adequacy of the instruments at present available to us.

Before concluding these comments on field work and survey methods which have been necessarily cursory, I would like to make a number of observations regarding some of the problems of investigation that might be encountered at this initial stage of inquiry. The problems of attitude assessment and the difficulties in obtaining preference data on complex issues not previously the object of general public discussion are not always recognized (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963).[3] This is particularly so when the subject of questioning concerns concepts such as that of "the national language" which are themselves open to a number of interpretations (Ladefoged et al, 1971). In such situations, 'provision generally needs to be made for more discussion and contingency questioning than use of questionnaires employing close-ended questions normally permits' (Fishman et al, 1971); but the use of guided interviews or non-directive interviews such as would be required in these circumstances requires skilled interviewers and these are not always available. Questions dealing with the appropriateness or adequacy of current policy are particularly open to misinterpretation and are likely to be regarded as inflamatory by those at whom they are directed or officials concerned, unless the purpose of the undertaking is clearly explained and understood (Polome, 1971), especially in areas where policy decisions are not generally based on a process of participant planning.

The problems involved in obtaining attitude-data, however, simply reflect certain of the difficulties faced by language specialists in carrying out survey research generally. Not all investigators concerned with aspects of educational policy in developing states have appreciated the difficulty--or indeed the need--of obtaining stratified probability (random) samples from which to draw inferences regarding the school population as a whole. Indeed, the information needed to select such samples is not generally available with regard to individual students (though it is generally feasible to use a form of cluster sampling using the school or class as the sampling unit). Many problems encountered in previous survey research in developing states have stemmed from the relative inexperience of language specialists in this field rather than from the unavailability of appropriate data, as I know from personal experience. Not all research workers have been aware of the technical difficulties involved in the development of questionnaires or interview schedules in terms of such features as layout, length, clarity, and translatability, or of the problems to be faced in the training and supervision of interviewers; or of the need for pre-tests and pilot studies in which to test such instruments as well as to try out data-processing procedures. This relative lack of expertise has perhaps been most evident in the area of data processing and analysis. In the design of tests and questionnaires for computer processing,the need to consult with systems analysts and programmers before the data is collected has not always been recognized; and this has led to considerable delay in subsequent data coding and processing. This is not to be taken to imply that it is always appropriate for tabulation plans to be drawn up in their entirety before the data are collected. The results will usually indicate the utility of additional analyses to those anticipated before data collection. Finally, most studies have not been designed to take full advantage of the methods of data compositing now available and few investigators have subjected data gathered to analysis and evaluation in other than a rudimentary fashion. This is primarily because in situations in which relatively little is known about patterns of language use, language specialists are prone to collect data without regard to a research design that would allow them to take account of the relationship between specific independent, dependent, and interdependent or intervening variables. Primarily through the work of such scholars as Fishman and Cooper, however, there is now more widespread understanding of the applicability of explanatory as opposed to descriptive techniques of analysis in the interpretation of language related data, and one would expect this to be reflected in the design of future surveys.

Policy Formulation:

After a critical appraisal of the features of current policy and documentary and field research, advisers in consultation with officials will generally formulate a series of alternative proposals for policy change and development, for consideration by the policy makers. Whenever possible these should be accompanied by projections regarding the human and financial resources required to implement them. An important feature of such planning is the prediction of potential difficulties that might arise in connection with such policies, with suggestions for contingency planning that might be required to take account of these. Policy makers and non-language specialists generally are frequently unaware, for example, of the length of time needed to prepare and test teaching materials, particularly in languages that have not been previously used for the purpose, or of problems involved in training teachers to use this material and of upgrading the standards of unqualified teachers; nor do they always recognize the limitations of the school as an instrument of language policy--and such issues need to be drawn attention to.

Advisors may find it appropriate to provide clients with a full explanation of the rationale underlying different alternatives or approaches suggested and to provide a synopsis of the results of experimentation and research in the areas of interest with which they are concerned, or make available existing research summaries. Such a review should serve to widen the perspectives from which policy makers view the possibilities for policy change and to modify or counter simplistic assumptions about language use and language teaching. I would think it appropriate, also, for the synopsis to give an indication of the numerous areas in which research findings are inconclusive or in apparent contradiction (cf. Paulston, 1973; MacNamara, 1967:133; Jakobovits, 1970:60-61; etc.). A full list of references consulted should also be appended. These procedures will enable the policy maker or his assistants to make independent enquiries regarding specific points if they so wish, and help them to better appreciate the point of view or particular bias of the adviser, since his insights and recommendations, like those of the policymaker, are likely to be influenced by his background (academic and otherwise), beliefs and sentiments and, possibly, by ideological considerations. All this information might be provided in the form of a general report which would provide the basis for policy determination.

Presentation:

If the information gathered is to be immediately made use of, the results of research need to be presented to the policy makers with the minimum of delay in a form that is intelligible to them. If arrangements are to be made for commercial publication of the findings, a preliminary version of the relevant findings needs to be prepared and distributed to those responsible for formulating and determining policy. The policy makers themselves may wish to encourage dissemination of the findings so as to help to focus public opinion on relevant issues before a final decision is taken. It is not normally the responsibility of advisers to do this unless specifically mandated. Such a process can, of course, complicate the planning process and may even retard it (Rabin, 1971); but it is generally necessary in situations where effective power to implement decisions resides with members of local communities rather than with centralized agencies.

Between the stages of policy formulation and implementation Dr. J. D. Bowen envisages a stage of experimentation (Bowen, 1967); and in ideal situations there is no question that focussed research, in which the relative advantages of alternative policy proposals might be investigated, is very desirable. For a number of reasons, however, such research is not normally carried out. One reason is that political leaders are generally less concerned with long term plans than with those that show immediate and tangible results. With regard to the situation in Mexico, for example, Lastra de Suárez has written that the policy maker "seeks to do what he can during his term and there is no time or opportunity for long-range plans which might include pilot projects...," etc. (de Suárez, 1973); and this is not an unusual situation. Secondly, large scale research projects such as those described by Davis in his account of the Rizal and Iloilo second-language experiments (Davis, 1967) are extremely costly in time and money (Prator, 1967). Because of these factors, and others such as parental concern about the possible adverse effect of experimental programs there is a tendency for promising pilot projects to be abandoned before results of any conclusiveness can be obtained, as was the case for example with the vernacular medium project described by Fawcett in Kenya (Fawcett, 1970). The observation that Hirschman made with regard to developmental projects generally would seem to hold in these circumstances, i.e. "projects whose potential difficulties and disappointments are apt to manifest themselves at an early stage should be administered by agencies having a long term commitment to the success of the project. They should be developed as much as possible in an experimental spirit,...so that they may escape being classed and closed down as failures in their infancy." (Hirschman, 1967:21)

However, it is the nature of the complex methodological problems that need to be taken account of in research projects in which the efficacy of two instructional methods or sets of materials or curriculum structures are compared that has generally inhibited research of a comparative nature. Few studies have been so designed as to allow us to assume that the results have general applicability, and this is to be anticipated since 'in complex social and educational settings experimental findings are not easily generalizable: the conditions that hold for any particular setting are likely to be quite different, and significantly so, from any other setting' (Jakobovits, 1970:59). Apart from this fact, the factorial design of many experiments has not been structured to control for the effects of the variables that might affect the quality of instruction. Patricia Engle has recently summarized certain of the factors that need to be taken into account in research concerned with methods of introducing reading and subject matter in a second language, and the list is by no means exhaustive (Engle, 1973).[4] While it might not be feasible, therefore, or even advisable, for advisers to attempt to initiate large-scale projects in an attempt to identify the relative advantages of different methods or curriculum designs, small scale projects to test the practicability of different methods, materials or media of instruction for particular subjects are very desirable. It is essential, also, that appropriate time be devoted to the preparation and pre-testing of materials to be used in the schools before these are mass-produced. However, this issue is one that would appropriately be considered under questions of implementation.

Policy Implementation, Evaluation and Review:

After reviewing the policy alternatives suggested and the results of research carried out, those responsible for determining policies presumably select one related set of policies for implementation. I think it is useful to characterize implementation, evaluation and review as three components of the final stage of planning, primarily to emphasize the fact that features of the implementation process should be kept constantly under review in the light of evaluative studies and feedback. The process of implementation itself could involve (i) the mobilization of resources and general financial and personnel management; (ii) the motivation and supervision of those concerned. This will involve communication both with the groups towards which the policy is directed and with those immediately responsible for managing it; (iii) the sequencing and coordination of related aspects of the research and development programs consequent upon new policies, such as would be involved in the preparation of texts in languages not formerly used as media of instruction (Ansre, 1971). Whether or not the adviser is directly involved in these activities, he should have provided instructions or advice with regard to them; and the more specific such advice is in regard to the third set of categories the more useful it is likely to be.[5]

Evaluation is here envisaged to include the analysis of trends, and the general monitoring system, as well as more formal studies that might be undertaken to measure the effectiveness of specific aspects of the educational program.[6] If appropriate, a system of recording results should be adopted which allows for longitudinal evaluative studies to be made. If the goals and subsidiary targets of a particular program are explicit, it should be possible for the adviser to specify, in advance, criteria that might be used to subsequently determine whether these have been attained; and to suggest evaluative methods by which such appraisal should be carried out. It is a cause for regret, for example, that despite the numerous English medium programs developed in former British colonial territories in the last two decades, very few studies have been made which can be used as a source of reference for subsequent programs; since evidence other than the anecdotal regarding the success or failure of aspects of such programs is generally not available. Nor is information regarding curriculum design or course content, since no central system of archives was established in which such results could be stored. If possible, then, research instruments and records used at each stage of inquiry need to be assembled, catalogued and stored in such a way as to remain accessible to future investigators.

Conclusion:

It was suggested at the start of this paper that numerous newly independent states are obliged to deal with problems in determining educational language policy that, in planning terms, can be interpreted as being variations of a limited set of problems relating to the choices that need to be made regarding the use of a restricted number of languages as media or subjects of instruction. This basic set of allocative choices in turn entails the selection of secondary policies relating to the selection of the most effective means to teach these languages. These secondary policies involve decisions on curriculum design and course structure, teacher education and supervision, teaching methods and teaching materials. I have attempted to indicate some of the ways in which information relevant to policy making at different stages in such situations might be systematically provided and to illustrate the process with reference to studies undertaken in a number of developing states.

In the last decade, the degree of contact and cooperation between those concerned with research related to the development of educational language policy has greatly accelerated. We can anticipate, therefore, that the recognition of the existence of common planning problems will lead increasingly to the development of collaborative projects, initially on a subregional basis (Larudee, 1970), and that these projects will be concerned primarily with issues relating to the effective implementation of policies. Before common problems can be dealt with systematically, however, they need to be systematically described. A number of scholars have proposed topics for research in particular areas and some have suggested research methods that might be adopted in descriptive or evaluative surveys (cf. especially Carroll, 1969); but since example is generally more illuminating than advice, it is hoped that publication of the Jordan Survey will serve both as a stimulus to and, in certain respects, as a model for subsequent research.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Mannheim identified the educational system as being one of the *principle media* of society, in which small changes could give rise to far-reaching effects in the structural relations of a social system (Mannheim, 1950). The literature relating to educational language policy abounds with references, primarily speculative, to the effects of the use of non-indigenous languages as media of instruction on characteristics of the social, cultural and political institutions of particular states.

[2] It might be appropriate at this stage to make the point that the preparation of instruments that might be used on a cross-national basis to measure a variety of communicative skills (cf. Jakobovits, 1970:219) is clearly a research priority. The type of investigation undertaken by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement could provide a model for such research.

[3] Braybrooke and Lindblom point out that 'it has been shown that it is not possible for a majority to express its preference on more than one issue at once except under specially simplified conditions' (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963:35). Public discussion can of course have a major effect on opinions and attitudes: 'We never order all possible total situations according to a system of values, but rather have muddled preferences for aspects and features of a limited number of actual and possible solutions. These preferences change as a result of the discussion and adoption of policies intended to minister to them' (R. Williams, *American Society*, 1965:408; quoted in A. J. Kahn, 1969:114.)

[4] She lists the following issues to be taken into account in designing further research. I have changed the order of their presentation somewhat:

1. The relationship of the two ethnolinguistic groups in the larger society;
2. The functions of the two languages in the broader community, and the possible uses of literacy in each language;
3. The cultural context of learning in the community;
4. The linguistic relationship between the two languages;
5. The initial linguistic status of the child;
6. The period of the child's development in which the second language is introduced;
7. Instructional methods and materials used;
8. The ethnic group membership of the teacher;
9. The training and linguistic knowledge of the teacher;
10. The specific subject matter under consideration;
11. The appropriateness of the assessment devices for both languages;
12. The length of time necessary to observe an effect.

[5] Two documents produced in 1965 and 1971 by study groups appointed by the Government of India provide examples of reports that combine an analysis of the major problems with detailed operational suggestions for their solution (India, Government of, 1965; 1971).

[6] For a more comprehensive and authoritative discussion of the subject cf. J. Rubin, "Evaluation and Language Planning" in J. Rubin and B. Jernudd (eds.), *Can Language Be Planned*, 1971, pp. 217-252.

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SUPPORT FOR THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTITUTE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO*

Clifford H. Prator

The English Language Institute of the 53-year-old American University in Cairo (ELI/AUC) was created in 1956. Like the University of Michigan's well known English Language Institute on which it was modeled, its original purpose was to provide intensive language training for students who wished to follow an academic program in English at the University but whose English was insufficient for that purpose. With help from the Ford Foundation it has undertaken additional functions until it now constitutes a full-fledged English-language (as distinguished from English-literature) department within the University. In fact, its complex program includes national and international responsibilities that go well beyond those usually assumed by academic departments (Doc. 32, pp. 46).

The ELI/AUC received its first support from the Foundation in July, 1965, a three-year grant in the amount of $308,000. The Request for Grant Action states:

> The focus of the proposed grant is upon strengthening the existing intensive program, and upon developing special courses for Egyptian university graduate students and for English language teachers from both the universities and the public school system. The grant would also prepare the ground for the establishment of largely self-sustaining English language training centers in the national universities themselves (Doc. 2, p. 1).

Just as the project was beginning to get underway, it was interrupted by the Six-Day War of 1967, which brought the work of the University to a standstill and disrupted all plans. It took five years to expend the funds that had been scheduled for three years.

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*This report was written as part of a retrospective study of seven language-related projects in North Africa and the Middle East that had received Ford Foundation support. The paper sets out a method of approach that might be utilized in other evaluation projects of this nature. The first series of questions asked in the report deal with the processes developed and the procedures adopted in carrying out the project; the second series deal with the effect that the project may have had on aspects of language use and language teaching in the country concerned; and the third series relates to other principal effects of the project that need to be taken into account. Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim of the University of Jordan and Dr. Mohamed Maamouri of the University of Tunis contributed reports on other projects to the retrospective study.

A supplementary grant, this time of $258,000 for a two-year period, was made in September, 1970. This grant was intended to underwrite the dollar costs of the salaries of American senior faculty members, language teachers, and teaching interns; travel awards for the professional development of the staff; library purchases; and additional language-laboratory equipment and spare parts. As recommended by Professor J. Donald Bowen of UCLA, who had visited AUC as a consultant in the spring of 1970, grant funds were to be used for the following types of activities:

1. Intensive English teaching, mostly for pre-University students.
2. A graduate program for the M.A. degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language.
3. Teacher education for the UAR Ministry of Education.
4. Regional assistance related to the teaching of English (Doc. 13, p. 1).

A second two-year supplementary grant, in the amount of $167,100, was made in October, 1972. It involved a lowered level of support but no basic change in objectives or types of expenditure. The Request for Grant Action states:

> While it was thought at the time of the previous supplement that further assistance would be terminal, the Cairo field office now envisages yet additional assistance to the ELI in 1974. It is, however, expected that by 1976 the Institute will have become self-sustaining through its own earnings, continuing Egyptianalization of staff, and greater contributions by the University (Doc. 23, p. 8).

If a third supplementary grant is indeed made, the duration of the period of support will be longer (11 years or more) and the total cost of the project to the Foundation will be around $1,000,000 if such extra costs as consultants' salaries are added in.

It appears, then, that the most important specific questions to raise at this stage in connection with the ELI/AUC have to do with its ability to survive in anything like its present very effective form without Foundation support. What kind of income can the Institute develop? And how much can an organism whose stock in trade is the teaching of English be "Egyptianized" without losing some of its effectiveness?

A. Processes and Procedures

How was the project initiated? It seems very likely that no stimulation by the Foundation was needed in order to bring forth from AUC the initial request for financial assistance and that this request originated at the top administrative level rather than in the mind of an ambitious subordinate. Thus the procedures whereby the project was initiated were probably strictly 'according to Hoyle'.

During the period when the first grant was being negotiated ELI leadership was very weak. The directorship had been in the hands of a series of short-term American visiting professors none of whom could have felt strongly that their own future depended on the development of the ELI. One director left AUC at the end of 1964-65, and his replacement did not arrive in Cairo until April, 1966. At the time of the grant, therefore, the Institute was being run by an acting director (Doc. 3, p. 2). On the other hand, the AUC president and administrators have always had to direct a large proportion of their energies to fund raising (Doc. 32, pp. 8-9). Someone who analyzed the original proposal for the Foundation thought of it in his own mind as "the Bartlett request" (Doc. 1, p. 3, handwritten marginal note). It is reasonable to assume, then, that the essentials of the original plan were worked out by approximately the same group of people who were later identified as meeting several times to discuss reactivating the grant after the Six-Day War. These were President Thomas A. Bartlett and Secretary (President after 1969) Christopher Thoron for AUC, and Representative James Lipscomb and Thomas A. Scott for the Foundation (Doc. 6, p. 1). There is no indication that these people held different views of the form that the project should take.

How was the project run? Unfortunately, the endemic lack of effective leadership at the ELI was to continue right up until 1970. Mr. William W. Harrison, the Project Specialist in English Language and Education who rejoined the staff of the Foundation's Cairo Office in 1969, was never seconded to the ELI and thus never became actively involved in its day-to-day operation as did Payne at the Institut Bourguiba de Langues Vivantes in Tunisia. Harrison's responsibilities included maintaining contact with a number of language-related projects but, theoretically at least, no control of any of them. In practice, no agency of the Egyptian government had anything to do with the routine operation of the ELI. It was assumed that the Institute, like other AUC departments, would be run by its director/chairman and staff and be controlled through the normal faculty committees and administrative channels.

It is particularly regrettable, then, that the earlier directors were able to do so little to fulfill their responsibilities for providing leadership. Before the first Foundation grant the ELI staff was made up almost entirely of English teachers with few academic qualifications; they were native speakers of English who had majored in some other subject, happened to be living in Cairo, and needed to supplement their income. Often they were the American or British wives of Egyptians. Even if they had been given an opportunity, most of them could have contributed little to running the ELI. The directors were outsiders who succeeded one another rapidly, got very little assistance, and had more to do than they could handle. The director appointed after the Six-Day War also had a serious illness that resulted in many periods of incapacitation.

As 1970 and the exhaustion of the funds provided under the initial grant approached, increasing numbers of visiting professors and graduate students were being brought in from the United States. These met with many problems that they got little help in solving, felt the lack of leadership acutely, and became a focus of criticism. So serious did the situation grow that the Foundation suggested, and the AUC administration requested, that an outside consultant should be brought in to diagnose the problems and to recommend possible solutions (Doc. 13, p. 2). Professor Bowen accepted the assignment and made the visit referred to earlier. He was guided in his inquiries by a confidential questionnaire provided him by Harrison (Doc. 10, p. 1).

In his confidential report to the new Foundation representative in Cairo, Mr. James Ivy, Bowen wrote:

> There is deep dissatisfaction among the teaching fellows, in some cases acute bitterness, with reports that some are writing to the schools in the U.S. where they were recruited to advise prospects there to under no circumstances come to AUC in Cairo. The complaints are too varied to be literally interpreted and trusted, but seem to center in the following areas:
> a) Instruction in the M.A. program is poor.
> b) Senior staff are not up-to-date professionally.
> c) The Administration of the program is arbitrary, some might even say quixotic.
> d) Recruiting information was not honest and the 'rules' have been changed after arrival in Cairo.
> e) Teaching assignments, especially with poor classes, are difficult, and the teacher has no way of meeting discipline problems since course performance is of little importance in establishing competence in English.
> f) Suggestions (e.g. at staff meetings) are never acted on and the fellows' opinions count for little or nothing.
> g) Little or no guidance in carrying out their teaching responsibilities.
>
> Obviously there has been a communication problem, not only between the teaching fellows and the director, but also between the fellows and the senior staff....
>
> There is also a lack of mutual respect between the director and the senior staff, with some justification on both sides. Some of them complain that he is unfair and heavy-handed. He claims that some of them are professionally incompetent and some lazy, cutting classes without excuse (Doc. 10, pp. 4-5).

A very substantial report written by Harrison at about the same time corroborates the existence of a crisis and adds many further particulars:

> Another problem which plagues the Institute is the frequent absence of the Director, either on the various entrepreneurial activities of the Institute or for health reasons. The delegation of authority in the Institute is arranged so that no one is really left in charge during his frequent absences. Decisions of importance are therefore deferred and valuable time is lost. The use of scarce teaching resources in various special activities in the Institute has caused the main work of the Institute, that of looking after its own students, to be weakened considerably. These classes suffer from bad

teaching. The future of the ELI depends on their being well taught (Doc. 11, p. 29).

Since the 1970 appointment to the ELI directorship of Dr. Yehia El-Ezabi, an 'insider' and the first Egyptian so appointed, the problems of leadership diagnosed by Bowen and Harrison have little by little been overcome. The minutes of staff meetings held during 1972-73 reveal a situation very different from that which prevailed before 1970. An excellent relationship of cooperation and mutual respect obviously exists among director, senior faculty, English teachers, and graduate students. If changes seem to promise improvement, there is no hesitation in making them. When problems are identified, imaginative solutions are suggested and tried out. It seems clear that at present those who should run the ELI are running it, and those who should share responsibility for its operation are sharing it (Doc. 25).

How was the project controlled? Though the project is now run by the ELI director and staff, there is no doubt that control of it was temporarily taken over by others at the time of its 1970 crisis. The Bowen and Harrison reports and the circumstances surrounding them amounted to a massive intervention in the internal affairs of the ELI. It happened that the top AUC administrators heartily welcomed and backed up the intervention, but the controlling ideas manifestly came from the Foundation and its consultants. It now appears that the Foundation either had to intervene or to abandon its support of the project.

Despite the many shortcomings that both Bowen and Harrison identified in the project, neither man hesitated in recommending heartily that the support of the ELI should be continued. Both men saw in it a great potential for solid achievement. Both believed that its problems could be solved without too much difficulty.

Bowen began his 39-page report to President Thoron by suggesting the priorities that should be assigned to the nine different types of activities in which the ELI had engaged. Priority number one would go to "English language training for graduate students seeking admission to the University, with first priority on the University's special programs, such as the management training program." Priority number nine would be "special projects that serve nearby nations or a regional interest" (Doc. 9, pp. 4-5). There followed an astonishing 59 recommendations, many of them gathered from ELI staff and students, for implementing all aspects of this program. Most of the suggestions were accepted and a great many of them have since been acted upon. In short, the Bowen and Harrison reports provided much of the detailed planning that should ideally have been built into the 1965 grant if its authors could only have been sufficiently prescient.

This 1970 crisis in the control of the ELI resulted, then, in a clarification of priorities and a spelling out of procedures to be followed rather than in a radical change of basic objectives. Henceforth there was to be less emphasis on attempts to establish English-language training centers in Egyptian national universities and much more on finding better ways of teaching English at AUC, of training English teachers at AUC, and of carrying out research related to these two fundamental tasks.

Perhaps the most significant change was the decision strongly recommended by the Foundation and acquiesced in by AUC) to enlist the support of a back-stopping institution, an American university that would enter into a special relationship with AUC and would provide resources and technical collaboration for the ELI. UCLA was the institution chosen, because of its substantial program in English as a Second Language and of Bowen's particular interest in AUC. In 1971 the two universities signed a formal agreement of which the principal provision was that for each of the next five years one of UCLA's most experienced professors would be seconded to AUC: Clifford H. Prator in 1971-72, Russell N. Campbell in 1972-73 and 73-74, and Donald Bowen in 1974-75 and 75-76. ELI staff members would also be invited to UCLA, there would be an exchange of graduate students, and UCLA would help in a number of ways in the development of research at AUC.

Was the Foundation involved with technical aspects of the project? The AUC-UCLA relationship eliminated any need there might otherwise have been for the Foundation to become further involved with technical aspects of the project. A large proportion of ELI senior staff members had always been visiting professors from the United States. The fact that the new visiting professors from UCLA began to play a very active role in the professional life of the Institute was therefore considered by other ELI staff members as entirely natural and desirable. A comparable technical/professional intervention by Foundation personnel, even had it been in some ways beneficial, would certainly have been regarded as improper and threatening. The whole episode seems to provide a good example of the usefulness to the Foundation, under certain circumstances, of being able to call on an American university for back-stopping.

UCLA was not the first American institution to be asked for assistance in the ELI/AUC project. The original plan as stated in the 1965 grant called for Teachers College of Columbia University "to assist in making available from its own staff and recruiting the additional, experienced, senior staff members required by ELI, and to recruit and prepare a team of American graduate fellows, who will comprise a major part of the native English-speaking instructors needed" (Doc. 1, p. 3). Though the grant provided that Columbia would receive a fee of $25,000 in compensation for its services, very little came of this arrangement. A Foundation official later identified the "difficulties encountered in administering an association that ELI/AUC had entered into with Columbia Teachers College" as one of the major causes for the early "setbacks in developing the Institute" (Doc. 22, p. 1; Doc. 24, p. 1).

On the other hand, both the ELI Director and Foundation spokesmen assessed the results of the AUC-UCLA relationship very favorably after its first year of operation. The Director expressed his gratification for assistance in the ELI research effort, in its materials-development and teaching programs, in its recruitment of staff, and in "a range of other mutually reinforcing activities geared to the needs of Egypt and neighboring Arab countries" (Doc. 20, p. 2). A Foundation spokesman was particularly pleased with the effect on staff recruitment:

> Through painful experience the ELI has learned the difficulties of recruiting and retaining the best professionals, many of whom are not willing to be away from their home institutions for extended periods of time. A very important step toward solving this chronic and serious problem, which had resulted in hiring several faculty who were disruptive to the program, was taken in 1971 when the ELI and UCLA's...Department of English entered into a five-year agreement.... This cooperative arrangement, and the resultant improved programming, are viewed by the Foundation and AUC as a vital factor in the continued quality improvement of ELI programs (Doc. 21, pp. 10-11).

Not enough evidence is now available to permit a valid comparison of the Columbia and the UCLA back-stopping efforts that might explain why the former seems to have been less successful than the latter promises to be. Nevertheless, one can at least guess that, unless a university can promise that some of its best people will invest a substantial number of man-years in a project, it probably should not become involved in the project at all.

How comprehensive was the project? The ultimate objectives of the ELI/AUC project were considerably less ambitious than those of the Institut Bourguiba de Langues Vivantes or Living English projects. Whereas it was hoped that the two latter would have a somewhat revolutionary effect on English teaching on a nationwide scale, the ELI/AUC project aimed only at "the development of the University's English Language Institute into a national resource for training and research in the English language in the U.A.R." (Doc. 12, p. 2). In Egypt the Ministry of Education and the national Linguistic Unit at Manshiet-el-Bakry were the natural instruments through which to carry out a comprehensive program for improving English teaching in the public school system. The role that could be played by a rather small, private university with a high proportion of Americans on its staff was much less obvious---particularly in view of the very strained political relations between the U.A.R. and the United States.

Despite these facts, the ELI/AUC project became in time surprisingly comprehensive. By 1972 it included in-service evening courses for Egyptian teachers, as well as Egypt's first course of study leading to an M.A. in Teaching English as a Foreign Language. A number of district supervisors of English were candidates for the M.A. and regularly attended, along with many teachers, the meetings of the AUC-sponsored TEFL Discussion Club. The ELI director's report for 1971-72 speaks of the following types of activity:

1. The intensive English-language program for incoming AUC students;
2. A one-year Certificate Program in Management English;
3. The M.A. program in TEFL;
4. A library-acquisition program;
5. The production of teaching materials for students in the Freshman Writing Program;

6. A very large program of adult evening classes in English;
7. An evening program in TEFL for graduates of Egyptian universities leading to a Diploma;
8. A parallel program for non-graduates leading to a Certificate;
9. A program of professional development for the ELI staff;
10. Eight separate programs of assistance to other institutions in Egypt and neighboring countries;
11. A burgeoning program of research (Doc. 20, pp. 2-15).

What relations were there with other agencies? American government agencies concerned with the teaching of English---such as the USIS, US/AID, and the Peace Corps---are for obvious reasons conspicuously absent in Egypt. In fact, one of the strong arguments in favor of building up AUC as a resource base for TEFL has been that it was the only remaining American agency that could function in that capacity.

If it is remembered that legal control of AUC was taken over by the Egyptian government in 1967 and that the nominal head of the institution is now an Egyptian official with the imposing title of 'Sequestrator', it becomes less surprising that the ELI has always managed to maintain a reasonably effective working relationship with the Egyptian Ministry of Education. All students in the Management-English program are selected and supported by the Egyptian government. Egyptian universities, particularly Cairo University and Al-Azhar, have occasionally sent groups of their English instructors to AUC for practical training in English.

On the initiative of the Foundation, an informal Anglo-American committee meets at irregular intervals to insure adequate cooperation between the personnel of the British Council, AUC, and the Foundation itself.

What evaluation was there? There has been evaluation of various sorts and at several different levels, but almost all of it has been quite subjective, and there is no evidence of an over-all systematic plan of evaluation. Most of the recommendations Payne made regarding the evaluation of the Institut Bourguiba de Langues Vivantes project in Tunisia would be equally applicable to the ELI/AUC project. In the latter case, however, the Foundation personnel did not regularly append an 'Evaluative Report' to each 'Annual Report' submitted by the grantee. By far the most substantial efforts at evaluation were the two special reports of 1970, the Bowen report and Harrison's "Background Paper on English Language in the U.A.R." As has already been pointed out, these had a very considerable influence on the development of the project.

More objective evaluation of some features of ELI instruction has been carried out by teachers and students at AUC. Thus, the director of the ELI language laboratory reported in 1968:

> A built-in evaluation procedure helps the lab staff modify activities to meet the educational needs of the students. Teachers are encouraged to report any deficiencies whether educational or technical in the tapes they use. An evaluation sheet is filled out by the teachers every time a new program is used. Once a semester,

> the students are asked to fill out a questionnaire soliciting their reactions to lab programs and lab operations. The results are tabulated and pertinent recommendations are sent to the units concerned (Doc. 4, p. 2).

In the parallel report for 1968-69 it is stated that the laboratory "has conducted a survey soliciting student opinions on various aspects of the program and procedure" (Doc. 7, p. 5). In 1971-72 professors began asking graduate students in most M.A. courses to use standardized forms to evaluate the instruction received in each course. Perhaps some of the information so gathered, with due precautions taken to protect the identity of individual instructors, might be of value to the Foundation.

B. Effects on Language Use and Language Teaching

What is the relationship of the project to the national language policy? In the first semester of 1972-73 AUC had a total enrollment of 5,869 students. Most of these were in the non-credit adult courses of the Division of Public Service, but 1,476 were graduate or undergraduate students in regular academic-degree programs. 4,817 of the total number were Egyptians, and among the 1,052 non-Egyptians there were 136 Jordanians, 134 Americans, and 88 Palestinians. 94 students were enrolled only in the ELI. In 1972 the University awarded 120 bachelors degrees and 77 masters degrees, and it should be remembered that the graduates had received all or most of their post-secondary education in English (Doc. 32, pp. 194-198). Without the English they learned in the ELI, most of them could never have completed their studies at AUC.

Both the IBLV project in Tunisia and the Living English project in Egypt probably contributed in some slight but unmeasurable degree to raising---or to slowing the progressive decline in---the general level of proficiency in English among graduates of the public-school system. And the same claim can no doubt also be made for the ELI/AUC project. Recent observations suggest, however, that for the great majority of such graduates this level of proficiency has a quite limited practical value and serves mostly as a foundation on which an adequate level of proficiency can be built, if there seems to be sufficient need for it, by further study or experience.[1]

Only in the case of the ELI/AUC does it seem reasonable to claim that the project is playing a major role in the production of graduates who can conduct any proportion they may wish of their professional and intellectual lives in English. The Egyptian people and government, by and large, still recognize the need for a corps of such graduates. They are eager not to lose their remaining ties of education, research, and technical training with the West. If anything, this need is felt more strongly today, when few Egyptians can study in English-speaking countries, than it was in previous decades (Doc. 11, pp. 1-7). AUC is now the only institution that produces the needed English-speaking professional men and technicians in appreciable numbers.

Other practical effects of the project can perhaps best be analyzed within the framework of priorities suggested in the Bowen report and observed at the ELI since 1970.

What has been the effect on the English-language training given to AUC's graduate and undergraduate students? All observers seem to agree that, in general, the teaching has improved dramatically. Student and teacher morale are almost without exception good. More flexibility and variety are visible in the choice of procedures and teaching materials. Careful attention is given to meeting the actual needs of the students in terms of specific skills. The number of drop-outs has fallen from 72 in 1969-70, to 27 in 1970-71, and to 24 in 1971-72 (Doc. 20, p. 3).

The very unsatisfactory formal qualifications of those who did the teaching at the time of the first Foundation grant have been noted. In 1968, not one of 13 teachers (as distinguished from interns and fellows) had a relevant advanced degree; by 1972, 14 out of 15 had completed the M.A. in TEFL (Doc. 20, p. 4). By means of visiting lecturers, attendance at professional conferences in Europe and the United States, contact with the production of teaching materials, the TEFL Discussion Club, representation at senior-staff meetings, and other incentives, the participation of the junior staff in a remarkably active professional life has been secured.

Two very successful efforts to produce materials for teaching 'special-purpose' English have set the tone for much of the instruction. The first of these, begun in the form of a workshop under the direction of Professor Bowen in the summer of 1971, prepared a complete experimental course of study for the very mature students sent by the Egyptian government to take the course leading to the Certificate in Management English (Doc. 17, p. 5; Doc. 21, pp. 6-7). The following summer a somewhat similar workshop began the development of materials for teaching composition to first-year science students. Coordinated by the chairman of the Department of English, Dr. Doris E. Shoukri, it brought science professors, English instructors, and ELI personnel together to tackle the problem (Doc. 19; Doc. 23, p. 5). Both sets of materials have now been refined almost to the stage where they should be publishable.

Since their creation in 1965-66 with equipment purchased from grant funds, the ELI language laboratories have been a major factor in upgrading the English instruction offered at AUC. In fact, visitors have often pronounced them to be one of the most effective language-laboratory systems they have ever seen (Doc. 2, p. 8; Doc. 11, pp. 26-27). Compared with the installations on many American campuses, they are not very extensive: until recently 56 positions divided between two rooms. But they are excellent in planning, flexibility of use, maintenance, administration, and the quality of the tapes and other teaching materials available. Since this favorable report is so different from the tales of failure that have attended many of the language laboratories presented by donor agencies to institutions in developing countries, it seems important to try to explain the ELI's success. There would appear to be two major factors involved:

(1) a laboratory supervisor, Associate Professor Salah El-Araby, who has his doctorate in audio-visual education from Columbia University and who considers the laboratory to be his major responsibility; and (2) an adequate staff of at least three full-time technicians, one operator, and one secretary (Doc. 4; Doc. 5, p. 3).

What has been the effect on and of the M.A. program in TEFL? The M.A. program, approved in 1966 and offered on a part-time basis before the Six-Day War, was made possible by the Foundation grant. The latter included funds to pay the dollar portion of the salaries of the American teaching fellows who provided a large number of the candidates for the M.A. The enrollment figures on a year-by-year basis make explicit some of the lines along which the program has developed.

Year	American Fellows	AUC Language Teachers	Egyptian Students	Other Non-Egyptian Students	Totals
1968-69	13	12	11	-	36
1969-70	26	8	16	-	50
1970-71	25	3	18	4	50
1971-72	19	2	17	5	43
1972-73	17	1	21	7	46

(Doc. 20, p. 7)

The number of American fellows has decreased each of the last four years, but there has been a substantial increase in the enrollment of Egyptians. The program has also begun to attract students of other nationalities.

The M.A. curriculum has been revised several times with the twofold aim of making it more relevant to actual classroom instruction and of encouraging the writing of theses. The latest series of revisions, completed in 1972-73, involved dropping the course in the History of Language Teaching and making the previously required course in the History of the English Language elective. The Observation and Evaluation of Language Teaching, which had been elective, was made a requirement and will be closely correlated with the course in Methods of Teaching a Foreign Language. Phonetics and Phonemics became optional so that students could take a relevant elective in some other department. The comprehensive examination and formal defense of thesis were dropped for thesis writers, who will henceforth present an oral report on their research at a departmental meeting (Doc. 26).

Senior staff members qualified to teach the M.A. courses and to direct research have, since the initial grant, increased in number from two to the equivalent of five or sometimes six full-time appointees. However, the statement in the 1970 Request for Grant Action that "the ELI now has a senior professional staff able concurrently to offer a strong M.A.T.E.F.L. program, teach entering graduate students, and carry out research" seems to be an exaggeration (Doc. 12, p. 5). Despite the UCLA arrangement, the recruitment of suitable new staff members continues each year to be a most serious problem. Because of leaves of absence and the difficulty of making new appointments, the quota of six professors simultaneously in residence has seldom been realized. Teaching schedules are in some cases oppressively heavy. If any sizeable proportion of the more than forty enrollees should decide to write theses, five people would obviously be unable to meet the demands for guidance. Bowen thought that a senior staff of at least seven was needed (Doc. 10, p. 2). We would agree with him and would further urge that at least four of these should be Egyptians or at least permanent residents of Cairo.

The M.A. program will not have its potential full effect until ways can also be found to involve both teaching staff and students still more extensively in research (Doc. 9, pp. 10, 23-25, 30-31; Doc. 20, p. 2). There is already a general awareness of this need, and some progress seems to have been made. Dr. G. Richard Tucker of McGill University, whose presence at the ELI in 1972-73 was made possible by the Foundation without cost to the project, opened many eyes to the fascinating possibilities for research in the general areas of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. More such appointments may be needed and even more concessions to thesis writers may have to be made if this indispensable element in a first-rate graduate program is to be adequately provided.

What have been the other principal effects of the project? One of them is certainly the program of evening classes that has been carried out in collaboration with the Egyptian Ministry of Education (Doc. 29). The ELI director reported on its operation for 1971-72 as follows:

> During the year about 60 English language teachers were enrolled in the special teacher education program designed by the ELI for the Egyptian Ministry of Education. By the end of the academic year, 16 of these teachers had obtained their 'Graduate Diploma in TEFL', and 6 the 'Certificate in TEFL'.... The Ministry continued to show a high degree of interest in the program, which has begun to offer new ideas in the teaching of English in the Egyptian school system. Some of the graduates of this program have already been assigned to the Training Division in the Ministry and to supervisory positions in their schools (Doc. 20, p. 9).

Two recent developments may enhance the influence of this evening program. The ELI has announced that, beginning in 1973-74, it will award to the ten best Diploma and Certificate students scholarships that will permit them to put in a year of full-time study and, in the case of the Diploma students, presumably complete the M.A. It is understood that the Ministry of Education will release the ten from teaching duties and continue to pay their salaries for the year. The arrangement is expected to attract more and better teachers to the night classes and increase the output of fully trained Egyptian specialists. The second development is the announcement that has just been made that, for the first time, the Egyptian government will extend recognition to AUC degrees. Hopefully the M.A. in TEFL will be included. Needless to say, once the degree is given full recognition, the ELI's potential for producing an impact on English teaching on a nationwide scale will be much strengthened.

The 1972 Request for Grant Action indicates that the Foundation spokesman feels "the establishment of the ELI as a major regional resource in the

Middle East" to be "an accomplishment of great importance" (Doc. 21, p. 3). There is certainly a great deal of evidence to cite in support of this conclusion. It seems that non-Egyptians first became aware of the ELI as a resource in connection with its very superior system of language laboratories. As institutions in neighboring countries became interested in laboratory installations, a number of them asked for and received help from AUC in planning their own systems: the Arab University in Beirut, the University of Jordan, the Royal University in Riyadh (Doc. 4, p. 2).

The ELI/AUC then took the lead in attempting to organize a regional association of English teachers. A first meeting of TESOL-ME (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages in the Middle East) took place on the AUC campus in 1969 under the joint auspices of the University and the Foundation (Doc. 7, p. 8). The speakers focused on exchanging information about teaching English in their countries, and the various reports were eventually put together in book form by the ELI Director, Dr. Faze Larudee (TEFL in the Middle East, Cairo, AUC Press, 1970). At the second regional conference, held in 1971 at the American University of Beirut, the association was enlarged geographically and renamed ATEMENA (Association of Teachers of English in the Middle East and North Africa). 19 junior and senior staff members from AUC attended the conference, and Larudee was elected Executive Secretary of the organization (Doc. 17, p. 12). Perhaps because it was trying to cover so much territory and had become quite expensive, the ATEMENA has not met again. But it did help make the resources available at the ELI better known.

In the last few years institutions and agencies from Tunis to Iran have received assistance of one kind or another from the ALI/AUC. The Foundation called on a visiting ELI professor to evaluate its Tunisian English textbook project in 1972 (Doc. 20, p. 10). The Libyan Ministry of Education was deeply interested in sending English teachers to ELI for intensive summer courses in 1972 (Doc. 17, p. 8). In Lebanon ELI instructors taught for the Directorate of Technical and Vocational Education and the Foundation a year-long course whereby a group of vocational-school teachers who had always done their teaching through the medium of French learned to teach their subjects in English (Doc. 8; Doc. 27). In June, 1973, ELI Director El-Ezabi was invited to come as a consultant to Kuwait University to advise on the establishment of an English-language program in the Faculty of Commerce, Economics, and Political Science; it appears likely that AUC will be contracted to give further help in the form of teacher training and language-laboratory installation (Doc. 30). For the last two years visiting AUC professors have provided the key-note addresses at the annual conferences of the Iranian Association of Professors of English.

Most assistance has been given, however, in Jordan. In 1969 at AUC the ELI conducted, under a contract with US/AID, a month-long seminar in language testing for 37 Jordanian teachers (Doc. 7, pp. 7-8; Doc. 17, p. 8). ELI staff members have been asked a number of times to serve as consultants for the Jordanian Ministry of Education. English teachers from the University of Jordan have visited the ELI on several occasions, and one of them participated in the AUC workshop for preparing materials for teaching

English to science students. ELI personnel have had a large-scale involvement in the very interesting Jordanian experimental teacher-training project known as CITTI (Certification and In-Service Teacher Training Institute) (Doc. 18; Doc. 28). And the English-Language Policy Survey of Jordan, which provides the subject matter of Chapter VIII of this study, was carried out by two visiting ELI professors and a Foundation project specialist (Doc. 20, p. 11).

The availability of the ELI/AUC as a resource has obviously made it possible for both the Cairo and the Beirut offices of the Foundation to provide language-related assistance on a number of occasions at a considerably lower cost than would have been the case had it been necessary to bring personnel from the United States. It thus seems only fair to point out that, much as the ELI/AUC owes the Foundation, the Foundation, in turn, is not without its debt to the ELI/AUC.

Did this project also have any relationship to the teaching of Arabic? Inevitably, it did. A consortium of American universities send students to AUC to study Arabic---various forms of Arabic (Doc. 32, p. 8). Since the beginning of the project, these students have shared the use of the ELI's language laboratories. There is a constant interchange of methodological concepts between English classes and Arabic classes. When a serious deterioration of the quality of instruction in Arabic seemed to be taking place, the instructors were required to take ELI courses in methods of language teaching (Doc. 20, p. 11). AUC's Center for Arabic Studies is currently giving very serious consideration to the idea of establishing an M.A. in the 'Teaching of Arabic as a Foreign Language'; candidates for this degree in TAFL would take some of the same courses required for the ELI's M.A. in TEFL (Doc. 33).

C. Learning to Survive without the Foundation

As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, by 1976 the ELI/AUC project will have received more Foundation support over a longer period of time than any other of the seven projects that were reviewed. From 1965-66 through 1969-70, a period during part of which the ELI operated on a very small scale or not at all, this support averaged around $61,000 per year. In 1970-71 and 1971-72, when the Institute was achieving what seems to be more or less its definitive size, the average was more than twice as much, $129,000 per year. The amount then fell to some $85,000 per year for 1972-73 and 1973-74, will presumably fall still further in the following two years, and is expected to cease altogether after 1975-76.

AUC administrators estimate that the total annual cost of operating the ELI currently runs around $437,000, of which $294,000 can be covered in Egyptian pounds but $143,000 must be paid out in dollars (Doc. 21, p. 21). The University's income in pounds comes mostly from Public Law 480 funds, which have been relatively easy to obtain. The problem has always been to secure enough counterpart dollars to maintain the 'American' character of the institution. In the case of the ELI, the Foundation's support has been amounting to more than half of the dollar budget. For last year and the coming year these Foundation dollars have been earmarked for paying the essential dollar portion of the salaries of junior and senior American staff members including fellows, for professional travel and development, for library materials, for equipment such as videotape cameras that must be purchased abroad, for UCLA back-stopping expenses, and for bringing visiting consultants from abroad (Doc. 23, p. 8). It is very unlikely that AUC can pick up all these dollar costs by 1976, yet the Foundation clearly cannot continue its own grants indefinitely.

Since the problem of learning to survive without Foundation support is one that most grantees eventually have to face, it seems worthwhile to focus attention on the way in which the ELI/AUC is facing it. There has already been much discussion of which budget items can be cut with least damage to the quality of the program, and the answers are not always obvious.

A decrease in the size of the senior staff would probably be one of the most counter-productive measures that could be taken. Not only would it be one of the surest ways to lessen the ELI's potential for training teachers. It would also make special projects that might produce supplementary income from outside the country much less feasible. One of the principal lessons to be learned from ELI operations prior to 1970 is that, without an adequate staff, special projects result in neglect of more basic responsibilities at home (Doc. 10, p. 3). If the number of faculty members for a graduate program falls below a certain 'critical mass', very little mutual stimulation occurs, course offerings cannot be varied, and serious research becomes much more difficult. As has already been argued, the critical mass for the ELI appears to be a senior staff of seven or more.

A sizable saving on the dollar item for senior salaries could be effected, however, if one more Egyptian as fully qualified as El-Ezabi and El-Araby could be given a full-time permanent appointment. Needless to say, an Egyptian who can if necessary live on unconvertible pounds costs fewer dollars than an American does. The question arises then: why not Egyptianize the project completely? Complete nationalization is certainly regarded as a very desirable goal for most non-language-related projects. Why not for this one too? The answer seems to be, in a nutshell, that a program for teaching English cannot really be top-flight unless it continues to involve at least a few well prepared people who speak English as their mother tongue. How would the French Department of an American university be rated if its staff included not a single Frenchman?

The same questions can of course also be raised in reference to the ELI's junior staff. Why not cut back on the number of American teaching fellows brought over each year? Isn't AUC intended to serve Egyptians more than Americans? It does indeed seem probable that a decrease in American fellows would have less serious consequences than a cut-back in senior staff. Fellows could soon be replaced, without notable effect on the authenticity of the English taught in practical classes, by well trained

American and British wives of Egyptians residing in Cairo. When they hear this argument, however, ELI people almost always express the fervent hope that at least a few superior fellows will continue to be recruited each year from the United States. They point out that, now that no more draftees are being sent to Vietnam and that fewer young Americans are fleeing their own culture, it should be easier than it has been to identify potential fellows with a genuine ambition to become teachers of English as a second language. And they urge that young American teachers and graduate students provide the ELI with much-needed new ideas, stimulation, intellectual independence, and attraction for Egyptian students.

The funds for professional travel and development, of course, serve very much the same purpose as do those for bringing consultants to AUC: that is, to avoid the professional isolation and stagnation that could so quickly sap the strength of a TEFL program in Egypt. Both are very important. If a choice has to be made, however, it should be remembered that one American visiting the ELI can probably have more influence on ELI personnel than can one Egyptian because of having attended a conference in the United States. There seems to be more of a multiplier effect in the case of the visiting American if he is well chosen, gives a substantial series of lectures, and ways can be found of insuring that he draws a good audience.

President Christopher Thoron and Dean of the Faculties Richard Crabbs have already met at length with the ELI's senior staff to discuss future ELI budgets and to explain what the University hopes to be able to provide by way of continuing support. The President has requested the staff to prepare a five-year plan covering future program and budget (Doc. 25, minutes of February 21, 1973). The staff has shown considerable ingenuity in designing types of activities that might bring in new income: practical English courses for company employees, intensive summer courses for Egyptians who are about to go abroad for advanced study, a Diploma program that teachers from other countries might complete in two summers at AUC and an intervening year of reading and seminars in their home country (Doc. 25, minutes of February 28, 1973). A prospectus has been drafted that describes the various professional services the ELI can render; it will be available for distribution whenever there is an expression of interest in special projects either in Egypt or abroad (Doc. 31).

The value of such steps might well be called to the attention of other grantee institutions whose external support is drawing to an end.

At this point in time, then, the prospects that the ELI can be successfully weaned and that the experience will not be destructively traumatic seem to be good. All parties have been made fully aware of the probable future funding pattern far in advance. University and Foundation are working together closely and with mutual consideration in reaching the subsidiary decisions that are now called for and in shaping the final budget. When the Foundation makes new language-related grants in the area, it now carefully explores the possibility of helping the ELI to fatten its own budget by calling on it to provide appropriate services for the grantee institution or agency. If this apparently obvious pattern for bringing direct financial support to an end had been followed more often, there might be more projects whose claim to having achieved their objectives was as good as that of the ELI/AUC project appears likely to be.

FOOTNOTES

[1] A major conclusion of the Foundation-sponsored English-Language Policy Survey of Jordan, which is discussed in Chapter VIII of this study, is that: "Only 7% of the respondents felt that their children will learn to communicate effectively in English by following the present government-school curriculum. This impression was substantiated, in part, by data which revealed that relatively few respondents who had attended only government schools reported a superior level of proficiency in English when compared with those who had attended any other type or combination of types of schools. Furthermore, 18% of all respondents are currently studying English privately, and private study seems to be related to increased proficiency" (Harrison, Prator, and Tucker, English-Language Policy Survey of Jordan: Pre-Publication Version, 1973, pp. 222-223). Conditions in the public schools of Jordan and those in the schools of Tunisia and Egypt are, of course, not strictly comparable, but Jordanian students spend considerably more time studying English.

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13. Yehia El-Ezabi, Progress Report: September 1969 - August 1970, December, 1970.
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PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED

1. Yehia El-Ezabi, Director of the ELI/AUC.
2. Salah El-Araby, Director of Language Laboratories, ELI/AUC.
3. Russell N. Campbell, Visiting Professor from UCLA at ELI/AUC.
4. G. Richard Tucker, Visiting Professor from McGill at ELI/AUC.
5. Anne Farid, Coordinator of English classes, ELI/AUC.
6. Mary Zaki, Coordinator of Certificate Program in Management English, ELI/AUC.
7. Nancy Salama, English language teacher in Certificate Program, ELI/AUC.
8. Kathryn Robinson, visiting candidate for UCLA M.A., ELI/AUC.
9. Marian Sarofim, Egyptian M.A. candidate, ELI/AUC.
10. Phyllis Spinks, American M.A. candidate, ELI/AUC.
11. Taisir A. Duwaik, Jordanian M.A. candidate, ELI/AUC.
12. Mohamed E. Huzayen, Diploma candidate, ELI/AUC.
13. Hamed Abu-Warda, Diploma candidate, ELI/AUC.
14. Doris E. Shoukri, Chairman of Department of English, AUC.
15. Richard F. Crabbs, Dean of the Faculties, AUC.
16. Ahmed Hamdy, Director General of In-Service Department, Egyptian Ministry of Education.
17. William W. Harrison, Project Specialist, Ford Foundation, Cairo Office.
18. James T. Ivy, Deputy Representative for Middle East, Ford Foundation, Cairo Office.

A SHORT-TERM TRAINING PROGRAM FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE SPECIALISTS

Russell N. Campbell

A year ago, in the UCLA workpapers, J. Donald Bowen (1973, pp. 75-83) described a seven-week training program which was designed for and administered to a group of Russian English teachers on the UCLA campus. The report is extremely useful since it provides a model for others who might wish to mount similar programs, with similar goals under similar conditions.

In this paper I would like to describe another training program given under quite different circumstances with different objectives and for a quite different type of participant. It is my hope that this report will complement Bowen's paper by providing another, albeit imperfect, model for the design of short-term training programs for English language specialists.

The setting for the six-week training program I will describe was in Amman, Jordan. It was conducted during the summer of 1973 at the behest of the Ministry of Education for a group of 32 Jordanian English language specialists who were designated as "potential field tutors" in a very ambitious program being carried out by a special branch of the Ministry called the Certification and Inservice Teacher-Training Institute (CITTI).

CITTI was established in Jordan about five years ago to rectify a situation that had emerged as a consequence of the recent rapid growth of school populations for which the number of teachers demanded was far beyond the number qualified to teach. As a result of this situation, several thousand people were pressed into service who were both technically and, frequently, practically unqualified to teach. Officially, to be qualified to teach in elementary (grades 1-6) and preparatory (grades 7-9) schools (collectively known in Jordan as the compulsory cycle) a certificate granted by a two-year teacher training college is required. CITTI set as its objective a training program that would permit unqualified teachers in the compulsory cycle to continue in their posts as teachers but who would, simultaneously, have the opportunity to complete the academic requirements for a Certificate equivalent to the one awarded by traditional two-year, pre-service Teacher Training Colleges.

Although the CITTI program serves teachers of all subject matter areas included in the school curriculum, I shall from this point on limit my discussion to those aspects directly related to English language teachers. The CITTI curriculum for these teachers includes, broadly speaking, courses to increase (1) their English language proficiency, (2) their knowledge of methods and techniques of language teaching, and (3) their knowledge of the linguistic peculiarities of English.

The inclusive calendar time required for completing the CITTI curriculum includes two academic years plus three brief summer sessions, the latter used primarily for Orientation to CITTI--Summer I, and straightforward English language instruction--Summers II and III, as follows:

Summer I (2 weeks) Orientation	Academic year I Methods English linguistics	Summer II (6 weeks) Language instruction	Academic year II Methods English linguistics	Summer III (6 weeks) Language instruction

Fundamental to the design of the CITTI inservice program is the utilization of self-instructional assignments to be studied by the teachers at home followed by regular weekly one-day seminars held in regional centers where, under the supervision of field tutors, the content of the assignments are reviewed, clarified, expanded upon and demonstrated. The CITTI program began with one seminar center in Amman but was scheduled to open nine additional centers by the beginning of the 1973-74 academic year; thus, the need for the training and selection of additional tutors and the need for the summer training program described in this paper.

An evaluation of the viability of such a program is the subject of a paper given at the 1974 TESOL Conference (Campbell, 1974) and will not be considered further here. Rather, our present concern is the training program given in Amman for a group of English language specialists who could serve as field tutors in the CITTI program who would have the responsibilities described in the previous paragraph.

CITTI invited the English Language Institute (ELI) of the American University in Cairo (AUC) to design and administer a summer training program (hereafter STP) for 30 to 35 Jordanian English language specialists from which CITTI could choose the additional field tutors it needed. The specialists chosen for training in the STP by CITTI included:

8	English Language Supervisors of the Ministry of Education
5	Teacher Training College instructors
16	Secondary School English teachers
3	CITTI staff members

All participants had at least a Bachelor degree in English and many had had additional post-graduate educational opportunities.

Prolonged consultations between CITTI and the ELI of AUC resulted in an agreement on the following broad objectives of the STP:

1. The participants would gain a thorough understanding of the role of CITTI in the preparation of qualified teachers for Jordanian compulsory cycle schools.

2. The participants would gain a thorough understanding of the content and the underlying rationale of the various home assignments on language, methods, and English linguistics included in the CITTI curriculum.

3. The participants would gain a thorough knowledge of the materials (Alexander, 1967a, 1967b) used in the CITTI program to increase the English language proficiency of the teacher trainees.

4. The participants would gain a thorough knowledge of the texts and materials used by CITTI trainees in their English classes (New Living English for Jordan (NLEJ), Bks. 1-5) for children in the compulsory cycle of government schools.

5. The participants would gain practical knowledge of methods and techniques appropriate for the presentation, practice and evaluation of the material contained in 2, 3 and 4 above.

Responsibility for the first objective was assumed by members of the CITTI staff. Time was allotted in the program for a number of lectures and discussions of the history, the aspirations and the future of CITTI.

The responsibility for the fulfillment of the remainder of the objectives was assumed by the members of the AUC staff (two professors and two instructors) with the considerable assistance of many members of the CITTI staff and others who participated as lecturers, technicians and consultants. Objectives 2 and 3 include detailed study of precisely the materials used in the CITTI program for teachers. The concern with the texts mentioned in objective 4 was considered important since it was felt that the field tutor must understand the specific characteristics of the material that the CITTI trainee must teach from, if he is to assist him with the linguistic and pedagogical problems he faces in his daily teaching.

It was ascertained that objectives 2, 3, and 4, each separately combined with 5, could be met by using the same general formula, namely:

1. Description, analysis of, and instruction on the content of the CITTI home assignments and the English language texts mentioned above.

2. Consideration of the most appropriate means of presenting, practicing and evaluating the content of (1) to the intended audience (i.e. either CITTI trainees for the Alexander materials and the CITTI home assignments or to children for the NLEJ texts).

3. Actual preparation of authentic sample lessons to teach (1) based on instruction in (2).

4. The teaching of the sample lessons prepared in (3) to actual teachers or pupils in simulated classes or seminars.

5. The observation and evaluation of the lessons taught in (4).

The six-week STP was divided roughly into three two-week segments. During the first the materials used to teach English to CITTI trainees (Alexander, 1967a, b) were dealt with following the formula described above. Specific lessons from the texts, chosen because they contained particular aspects of English grammar, pronunciation or lexicon known to be persistent problems for Arabic speakers, were reviewed, studied and explained. This component was called "Content Analysis". During the second two-week segment the content, grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and socio-cultural content of the NLEJ materials were considered. The last two weeks were dedicated to the review, analysis and evaluation of the CITTI home assignments (including: Methodology: approaches to the teaching of English as a foreign language; the teaching of pronunciation, grammar, writing, reading; language testing; audio-visual aids. Linguistics: nature of language; how people learn a language; morphology, syntax; phonetics, phonemics).

Immediately following a session of content analysis, the same lesson or assignment was considered in terms of how it might be most efficiently presented, practiced and evaluated for CITTI trainees. A wide variety of techniques and appropriate audio-visual aids were considered. Important in this segment was the attempt to provide theoretical support for the particular methods and techniques recommended. The component was simply called "Methods".

The third step in the formula now required the participants to design and prepare a realistic lesson or seminar session which would incorporate the results of the two previous sessions. For this activity, the thirty-two participants were divided into six groups of 5 or 6. No group leader was appointed but each group had representatives of as many different types of participants as possible, i.e. equal distribution of people with many and few years of experience, higher and lower academic degrees, supervisors, secondary school teachers, etc., etc. Each group was given the same assignment - "develop a well-coordinated 'lesson' with appropriate means of presenting, practicing and evaluating a specific set of objectives" consistent with the materials which had been considered in the preceding content analysis session. Available to the group were supplies from which to construct A-V aids, library resources, and ample work space. It was in these practical work sessions that the participants literally taught each other. Each individual brought from his own experience something that would contribute to the development of an acceptable lesson which complemented the instruction given in the "methods" and "content analysis" components. The members of the AUC staff were also present in all such work periods as consultants or discussants. This component was referred to as the "Workshop".

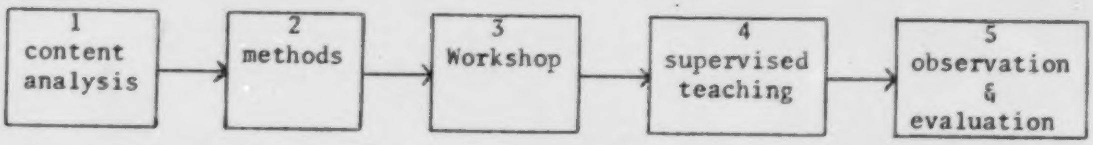
After each workshop period one group - selected by lottery - was chosen to actually teach its collectively prepared lesson to a group of real CITTI teacher trainees or to compulsory cycle pupils. The trainees were recruited from an on-going CITTI summer program that was being conducted in another part of Amman. They were installed in a simulated classroom on the stage in the auditorium and the class was conducted, to the degree possible, as it would be at regular CITTI seminar meetings. The children were attending a summer school program also being conducted in Amman.

They also were taught in simulated classes. Participants not actually involved in the teaching were requested to observe and take notes on the performance of their colleagues. The entire class was also videotaped for subsequent observation and evaluation. This component of the formula was referred to as "Supervised Teaching".

The final step was a review of what had taken place in the supervised teaching component. Before viewing the videotaped recording, members of the AUC team would comment on specific aspects of the performance that were considered especially praiseworthy or especially dubious. Participants were then invited to point out additional interesting pedagogical or linguistic features of the performance which they had noted. The tape was then played to demonstrate the points that had been made. This final component was called "Observation and Evaluation". The playback of these videotaped lessons permitted the participants to observe the effects of their presentations, explanations, drills and testing and provided an opportunity for critical discussion of the positive and negative aspects of the methods and techniques employed.

This five-step cycle required parts of three days to complete as can be seen on the weekly schedule on the following page. During the six-week STP it was repeated 18 times permitting the staff to consider with the participants a substantial number of the crucial elements of the relevant material.

As stated earlier, the three major areas that required attention in the training program - CITTI assignments, English language instruction for CITTI trainees and English language instruction for children in the compulsory cycle - all lent themselves to this 5-step cycle, which is represented graphically below:



This repetitive cycle was considered to be the heart of the STP. It consumed approximately 115 of the 180 hours of the entire program that I will list but will comment on only briefly.

1. In April, some 10 weeks before the beginning of the training program, each prospective participant was assigned reading in two standard methods books (Chastain, 1971, ch. XX; Finocchiaro, 1969, entire). It was felt that these assignments would provide a common basis on which the training program could be built.

2. A lecture series given by invited speakers from CITTI, the University of Jordan, AUC, American University of Beirut, and the British Council. Topics included in this series were: Transformational Grammar and Methods of English Language Teaching; Psycholinguistics; Contrastive Analysis; British and American English; and Future of Audio-Visual Aids.

FORMAT OF THE SUMMER TRAINING PROGRAM FOR CITTI ENGLISH LANGUAGE SPECIALISTS

June 30 to August 9, 1973

Amman, Jordan

	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
8:30 to 9:45	Observation & Evaluation (5)	Workshop (3)	Observation & Evaluation (5)	Workshop (3)	Observation & Evaluation (5)	Workshop (3)
10:00 to 11:15	Content Analyses (1)		Content Analyses (1)		Content Analyses (1)	
11:30 to 12:45	Methods (2)	Supervised Teaching (4)	Methods (2)	Supervised Teaching (4)	Methods (2)	Supervised Teaching (4)
1:00 to 2:00	LECTURES AND/OR INDEPENDENT RESEARCH					

3. Five films on language teaching techniques provided by the British Council.

4. Independent projects carried out and reported on by the participants.

The lecture series was included to provide an academic element to what was otherwise a (highly appropriate) practical attack upon the objectives of the training program.

The films, although they did not concern the teaching of English under circumstances similar to those in Jordan, did demonstrate dramatically certain techniques that could be adapted to our trainees' needs.

The last feature, that of independent projects for the participants, served several important functions. One, given the diversity of backgrounds of the participants, it was obvious that not all required the same instruction in the same amounts. Furthermore it was recognized that each participant had his own area of special interest within the field of modern language teaching. Finally, the participants were informed that CITTI would be delighted if individuals would take on as their independent study the evaluation of existing CITTI home assignments. They were invited to analyze the assignments, challenge their content or the presentation of the content and make recommendations for modification. Each of the 32 participants, under the supervision of one of the AUC staff members and, in some cases, with the additional guidance of one of the visiting lecturers, prepared a short 4 to 6-page paper on a topic chosen by the participant. Of these, about half were chosen for 10 to 15-minute presentation to the other participants. Those who chose to work on the CITTI assignments made valuable practical contributions to CITTI that have, subsequently, led to modification of CITTI assignments.

There were a number of ways in which the program was evaluated objectively and a few ways in which subjective evaluations were possible. In April, ten weeks before the opening of the STP, all of the prospective participants were brought together in Amman where members of the AUC staff administered a battery of tests which attempted to measure the participants' (a) general English language proficiency, (b) their general knowledge of English structure (syntax, morphology and phonology), and (c) their general knowledge of current language teaching methodology. Language proficiency was tested by a cloze test, a dictation, a composition and an objective test produced by the University of Michigan (Form C, Michigan Test of English Proficiency). Analytical knowledge of English structure was tested by requiring the participants to respond to a number of questions on the grammatical function of certain words, phrases and clauses in a variety of sentences and the pronunciation of various parts of words in particular environments. The test on Methodology was written by members of the AUC team. It included questions on the assumptions and practices associated with the audio-lingual approach as well as those of the cognitive code approach. Equally prominent on this test were questions that ascertained the participants' awareness of published resources on topics such as testing, audio-visual aids, English grammar, and the teaching of reading, composition, pronunciation, etc.

Although no part of the STP was considered to be straightforward English language instruction, it was hypothesized that the completion of the pre-reading assignment (cf. p. 7) plus the intensive instruction in English during the STP would result in gains in the participants' English language proficiency, as measured by these tests. Although it is not possible to state the gains in terms of statistical significance, it can be stated that substantially higher scores on the Michigan, cloze and dictation tests were attained by about 75% of the participants. Their performance on the subjectively-graded composition test did not improve.

As expected, from the extensive consideration of English structure in the 'content analysis' component of the STP, the participants demonstrated on the post-test a greater ability to make explicit explanatory statements about English grammar and pronunciation.

The most satisfying gains measured by the tests were made in the area of methodology. Whereas the participants on the pre-test showed a minimum degree of awareness of current issues in language teaching and learning or an awareness of resources, the post-test results demonstrated a high degree of sophistication in both of these areas. It was the consensus of the members of the AUC staff that they had acquired as much as a result of the reading assignments and participation in the STP as a student would normally acquire in a traditional one-semester course in Methods offered in graduate TESL programs in American universities. In addition to results measured by these objective tests, the AUC staff observed a marked improvement on the part of most of the participants in developing lessons, constructing appropriate A-V aids, and in skill in conducting classes.

A subjective measure of the various components of the STP, as well as the entire STP, required the participants (30 were present) to evaluate each component of the seminar using a five-point scale with the following instructions: "If you consider the component extremely important to you as a professional in the field of TESL, circle 5; if very important, circle 4; if moderately important, circle 3; if not very important, circle 2; and if not important at all, circle 1.

If all 30 participants had circled 5 for any given component, that component would have received a score of 100%. The following provides such a percentage evaluation for each component, ranked from the most to the least important in their collective judgment.

Participants Evaluation of the Various Components
of the STP, Ranked from Most to Least Important

1.	Lectures (3) on Psycholinguistics	93%
2.	Lecture (1) on Future of A-V Aids	86%
3.	Methods component of 5-step cycle	84%
4.	Lectures (5) on Testing	80%
5.	Lecture (1) on Transformational Grammar and TESL	80%
6.	Participants' Individual Projects	79%

7.	Films (5) on Methods and Techniques	79%
8.	THE ENTIRE SEMINAR	76%
9.	Observation and Evaluation component of 5-step cycle	75%
10.	Workshop component of 5-step cycle	74%
11.	Presentation of Individual Projects	72%
12.	Supervised teaching component of 5-step cycle	69%
13.	Lecture (1) on Contrastive Analysis	67%
14.	Lectures (2) on Intonation in Arabic and English	63%
15.	Content Analysis component of 5-step cycle	57%
16.	Panel discussion on British and American English	51%

SUMMARY

The STP described in this report was considered by the participants to be at least 'very important' to their careers as TESL specialists. Their performance on the various subjective and objective measures suggest that after the conclusion of the STP they were more proficient in their use of English, were more competent to analyze and explain English structure, and were more sophisticated in their knowledge of language teaching methodology. They also were more skillful in preparing and presenting instructional materials related to language and to language teaching that are of immediate relevance to the CITTI program.

The members of the AUC staff were, in general, satisfied with the results of the STP. They were particularly pleased with the basic model for the program, that is, a program designed and executed based on topics of language and language teaching that were found in the very material to be used by the participants in carrying out their duties as field tutors. There was seldom any question as to the relevance of the topics presented in the STP, since each presentation began with concrete examples from the material used in CITTI on Jordanian schools.

I believe that the same basic plan could be used in a wide variety of short-term training programs. I am further convinced that more grammar, more phonetics, and more methodology can be taught in short-training programs by using as the source for topics the texts actually employed by the participants than by relying on standard books and articles on language and methods.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EFL TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM: A CASE STUDY

Yehia A. El-Ezabi

Elsewhere in these Workpapers, Professor Prator gives an account of the development of the English Language Institute of the American University in Cairo (ELI/AUC) over the past decade or so. The account is given within an evaluative framework to determine the efficacy of Ford Foundation support to the Institute since 1965. Apart from the importance of evaluative studies of this type to supporting agencies, such studies, especially when carried out with such a well defined method of approach and a thorough knowledge of the problems as the Prator study was, should provide the projects/programs concerned with much valuable input for further evaluation and improvement. It was in fact as a result of an earlier study of a more diagnostic nature by another distinguished UCLA colleague, Professor J. Donald Bowen, that a number of recent changes in the ELI programs have taken place.

My purpose in this paper is to describe in some detail the development of one of the current major activities of the ELI, namely that of teacher education. I hope that in the course of this description, some appreciation will be gained of the challenges and opportunities surrounding a project of this type which is the only one of its kind in Egypt.

The evolution of the teacher education program at ELI-AUC may be divided into three distinct phases: 1) 1965 - 1968, 2) 1968 - 1971, 3) 1971 - present. During the first phase only a few graduate-level courses in TEFL were offered, taught by the Director of ELI and one senior faculty member. There were about 20 students enrolled in these courses. The majority were American and British wives of Egyptians living in Cairo and teaching English to pre-university students, with little or no prior preparation for that task. The rest were either Egyptian students or graduate TEFL Fellows from Columbia University Teachers College (CUTC), spending a year of teaching and studying in the ELI as part of an agreement between AUC and Columbia University. That agreement also provided one senior faculty member from CUTC who served as Director of ELI during 1966-67.

Until 1968, these courses (in the structure of English, methods of TEFL, audio-visual aids, language-culture-area studies and materials development) served the twofold purpose of providing for the 'resident' English Language Teachers (ELT's) some in-service training that could eventually lead to an M.A. in TEFL and, for the CUTC Fellows, some of the courses required for the M.A. degree in their school.

Following the 1967 political crisis in Egypt, a new director (not from CUTC) and two Egyptian faculty were appointed to the ELI. This newly expanded, though still small, staff of four saw as one of their first responsibilities (or challenges) the establishment of a viable M.A. program in TEFL, which was to be the first of its kind in Egypt.

New courses were added to fill existing gaps, and the content of 'old' courses was revised to reflect the rapidly growing scholarship in the field. The new courses were designed to cover such important areas as psycholinguistic factors in language learning, testing and evaluation in language teaching, and supervised practice teaching. A thesis was made optional for various reasons--the most important of which were the small number of senior faculty and the limited library and other research facilities available.

Besides ensuring a more solid teacher education program for the resident ELT's, the immediate (or short-range) objective of the newly established MATEFL program was to attract a number of qualified native speakers of English from the United States and England who would find the combination of teaching and studying in a foreign country a worthwhile experience. This group was badly needed to supplement the efforts of the resident staff in the then expanding intensive English program for pre-university students. (They have also since constituted up to 50% of all M.A. candidates.) Thus, a new program for two-year 'Teaching Fellows' was designed and announced in 1968. It was to be considerably more than just a replacement for the CUTC fellows' program which had come to a virtual end a year earlier as an inevitable result of its casually conceived and loose organization--the political crisis of 1967 serving only as the coup de grâce. The new program was different in many details, but especially in two important features:

1. A broad recruitment base, including graduates from a large number of American and British universities.
2. A 2-year commitment on the part of the Teaching Fellows with the assurance of obtaining an M.A. in TEFL by the end of that period.

However, the dissolution of the link, tenuous as it was, with the CUTC TEFL program also marked the end of what could have been a mutually beneficial relationship between a budding TEFL program in an American institution abroad and a well established one in the U.S., with a good deal of the benefit going to the former in its developing stage. It was not until three years later, in 1971, that such a relationship was to be established with the TESL program at UCLA, mainly as a result of Professor Bowen's consulting visit to AUC in 1970, of which more will be said later.

During those three years (1968-1971), which cover the second phase in the development of teacher education in the ELI, the Institute tried to mount a rather ambitious program comprising, besides the regular M.A. in TEFL, an in-service training program for Egyptian teachers of English in the public school system. Offered as a modest contribution by AUC to the improvement of the rapidly deteriorating standard of English language teaching in the public schools, this program consisted of five semester courses (4 for preparatory school teachers) taken on a part-time basis outside of the regular M.A. degree program. These courses were often diluted versions of some of the M.A. courses, namely, the Structure of English; Methods of TEFL; Contrastive Study of English and Arabic; Psychology of Language Learning; and Observation and Evaluation of Language Teaching.

The enrollment in the regular M.A. program totaled 36 in 1968-69 (13 Fellows, 12 ELT's and 11 Egyptian students). By 1970-71 that figure had risen to 50 (25 Fellows, 3 ELT's, 18 Egyptians and 4 non-Egyptian students), in addition to more than 50 teachers in the in-service training program for the Egyptian Ministry of Education. This increasing number of students represented a serious strain on the small senior faculty of between four and six members including the ELI Director and the Director of the language laboratories whose energies were largely devoted to administrative matters. It seems hardly surprising therefore that until May 1971 only seven M.A. theses had been written in the ELI (compared to nine completed between September 1971 and May 1973 and at least five more expected to be completed by May 1974). But more serious perhaps was the lack of adequate supervision by the senior staff of the day-to-day teaching activities of the TEFL students, especially the large number of Fellows who had had little or no teaching experience prior to going to AUC. Some of these students did not even have the benefit of the Observation and Evaluation course which at that time was only an elective. The situation was not made any better by the fact that the Fellows differed considerably in ability and degree of professional commitment. This was due in part to the large number of American university graduates some of whom, it seems, were more anxious to leave their country at that time than to seriously pursue a career in TEFL, and to the difficulty of screening a large number of overseas applicants.

In the in-service education program, perhaps the most serious problem was the difficulty of obtaining first-hand knowledge of how English was being taught in the public schools. This was mainly due to the lack of a clear governmental policy for dealing with a 'foreign institution' which, moreover, had been placed under 'sequestration' following the 1967 severance of diplomatic relations between Egypt and the U.S. Because bureaucracy knows no limits, the fact that the program was jointly sponsored by AUC and the Ministry of Education did not seem very relevant. Another problem was the excessively heavy teaching load (about 25 classes per week) required of the public school teachers, which prevented the participants from taking full advantage of whatever faculty and library resources were available to them at AUC. Unfortunately, these problems have continued to plague the program in varying degrees.

This then was a period of experimentation but without the benefit of systematic feedback and evaluation. The difficulty which the ELI had during that period in recruiting and retaining top level senior staff from the U.S. both contributed to and resulted in this state of affairs.

Despite these difficulties, enrollment in the M.A. and the in-service training programs continued to rise, reaching over 100 in 1970. By then, the need for a thorough evaluation of both the academic and administrative aspects of these programs was so strongly felt within the ELI and university administration that outside help had to be provided by Ford Foundation which had a considerable stake in the success of the programs by virtue of its financial support to the ELI since 1965. This help came in the form of two evaluation and consulting visits in 1970 and 1971 by Professor J. Donald Bowen of UCLA who brought to this task his extensive experience in similar projects in the U.S. and abroad.

The comprehensive report written by Professor Bowen after his first visit (and a supplement written after his second visit) marked the end of the second phase and the beginning of the third (and current) phase in the development of the ELI. Many of Bowen's recommendations, which covered practically all aspects of the ELI activities, reflected the desire of most of the TEFL staff and students to strengthen the teacher education program and English language teaching at AUC. Since many of the TEFL candidates were also engaged in the latter activity, it could hardly be contested that the real test for the teacher education program was its ability to improve teaching standards in the institution of which it is a part. I will limit my remaining remarks, however, to the changes since 1971 which have directly affected the teacher education program and which were either initiated or given added support by the Bowen recommendations.

The relationship of cooperation between the AUC TEFL program and the UCLA TESL program, which was formally established in 1971, has since played an important role in strengthening the Cairo program. It has not only alleviated the recruiting problem, by providing a succession of distinguished visiting professors over at least five years (Professors Prator 1971-72, Campbell 1972-74, and Bowen 1974-76), but has also created a strong link with a leading program in the U.S. Two of the ELI TEFL faculty have been able to participate in and observe the UCLA program at close range as Visiting Scholars during their sabbatical leaves from AUC. The exchange of information on current research and scholarship in language teaching and related fields has greatly minimized the 'isolating' effects of geographic distance. The UCLA visiting professors helped substantially in the building of a comprehensive and up-to-date TEFL library at AUC, a project deemed crucial to the success of the M.A. program there.

New program evaluation procedures were established and M.A. students have been encouraged to participate actively in program decisions through their elected representatives on the TEFL Faculty Committee and through their evaluation of instruction and course content. (More recently, questionnaires were sent out to graduates of the M.A. program, who now teach in about 10 different countries, to solicit their evaluation of the different components of the program in light of their usefulness to them in their carrying out of their present professional duties. Some of the returns which started coming in last year indicate that this is a most valuable source of evaluation input.)

This systematic feedback and evaluation produced significant changes. The course on 'Observation and Evaluation of Language Teaching' became required, instead of elective, and formed with the Methods course an integrated sequence over two semesters emphasizing the interdependence of theory, practice and experimentation, and the critical analysis of the various approaches to language teaching. More electives, including courses offered in other departments of the university such as the psychology and sociology departments, were made available to the M.A. candidates. A new course--Supervised Study in TEFL--encouraged individual research in a particular area of interest to the student under the supervision of a faculty member. (For a complete course listing, see Appendix A.) These provisions particularly appealed to the increasing number of better qualified students in the program (in terms of prior academic preparation and teaching experience).

Although the thesis remained optional, more of these students are now encouraged to opt for it instead of for two elective courses. This is being done by familiarizing them with a wide range of possible research topics relevant to the local and regional environment, and with appropriate research techniques. As an added incentive, the Oral Comprehensives requirement has been dropped for thesis writers. Even those students who do not elect to write a thesis are often engaged in meaningful research in many of the courses. (For a title list of all M.A. theses written in the ELI as of May 1973, see Appendix B, and for a list of other types of research projects carried out during 1972-73, see Appendix C.)

The efforts of the ELI faculty and visiting professors in guiding research were substantially augmented by the presence of a psycholinguist from McGill University with a strong research background, Dr. G. Richard Tucker, during 1972-73, as well as by the contributions of short-term distinguished visiting scholars who have conducted two- or three-week seminars in the ELI on their particular areas of competence. These have included to date: Professors Robert Kaplan (on Writing, Composition and Rhetorical Systems), Rodolfo Jacobson (on Sociolinguistics and Related Areas), Earl Stevick (on Adapting Writing Materials for the EFL Classroom), Jack Upsher (on Testing in TEFL) and Wilga Rivers (on Communicative Competence).

The TEFL students also became familiar with the uses of the computer in language-related research. In the spring and summer of 1972, a visiting specialist in computer-aided instruction, Dr. Victorine Abboud of the University of Texas, Austin, conducted a computer analysis of the syntactic content of one of the Living English books which are being used as textbooks in the Egyptian schools. She was assisted in her work by a TEFL graduate student, and both presented their findings in a series of progress reports to the ELI. Similarly, the growing need for special-purpose English language training at AUC, such as for Management and Science students, resulted in a number of M.A. candidates becoming involved in developing special materials and teaching strategies. For a description of one such project, see J. Donald Bowen's article "Materials Designs for Intermediate and Advanced Second-Language Classes" (Bowen, 1972). Moreover, the participation of the senior staff and visiting professors in regional projects of teacher education and language policy studies has, among other things, provided research opportunities for more M.A. students. Already one thesis has been written on one aspect of the In-Service Teacher Training Program in Amman, Jordan, and by June 1974 three more theses dealing with other aspects of English language teaching in Jordan will have been completed--all by Jordanian students.

The in-service training program for secondary school teachers holding a B.A. was reorganized into a graduate degree program consisting of five of the M.A. courses and leading to the 'Diploma in TEFL'. This has considerably improved the morale and motivation of this group of teachers and made it possible for the better ones to advance to the M.A. degree. The courses for the preparatory school teachers, who typically lack a bachelor's degree, continue to be offered (in the Structure of English and Methods of TEFL) on a non-degree basis and with emphasis on improving the English language competence of the participants. Successful candidates are awarded a 'Certificate in TEFL'.

It is clear, however, that if these in-service training programs are to fulfil their full potential in improving the teaching of English in the public schools, the TEFL staff should have more access to these schools and should be able to direct and participate in research bearing on the local problems of TEFL. In this respect two recent events augur well for AUC's academic and professional programs in general and for its TEFL program in particular. The first is the official recognition (March 1974) by the Egyptian government of AUC's undergraduate degrees, which is a major step towards recognition of its graduate degrees. The second is the decision (April 1974) to start the teaching of English in the Egyptian public schools at grade 5 (instead of 7) and the declared need to step up efforts for the production of appropriate instructional materials and for the improvement of pre- and in-service teacher education.

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Appendix A

M.A. Courses in TEFL Offered at the English Language Institute of the American University in Cairo

Until 1972		Since 1972
	REQUIRED	
TEFL 401G - The Structure of English		TEFL 501 - The Structure of English
" 405G - History of the English Language		" 502 - Testing & Evaluation in Language Teaching
" 502 - Testing and Evaluation in Language Teaching		" 503 - Psychological Factors in Language Learning
" 503 - Psychological Factors in Language Learning		" 504 - Methods of TEFL
" 504 - Methods of TEFL		" 510 - Observation & Evaluation of Language Teaching
" 512 - Phonetics & Phonemics		" 521 - Advanced English Grammar
" 521 - Advanced English Grammar		" 525 - Contrastive Study of English & Arabic
" 525 - Contrastive Study of English & Arabic		" 540 - Seminar in TEFL
" 540 - Seminar in TEFL		
	ELECTIVE	
" 506 - Resources (A-V Aids) for TEFL		" 505 - History of the English Language
" 510 - Observation & Evaluation of Language Teaching		" 506 - Resources (A-V Aids) for TEFL
" 511 - History of Language Teaching		" 512 - Phonetics & Phonemics
		" 530 - Supervised Study in TEFL
		Appropriate Courses in other departments.

Appendix B

Titles of TEFL M.A. Theses Written at the ELI, AUC as of May 1973

The Effect of Transformational Load on Short-Term Memory for English Sentences by Native Speakers of Arabic (Haggan, Madeline - April 1969)

Contrastive Study of the Consonant Blending Features of Cairo Egyptian Arabic and Standard American English (Gadalla, Barbara - April 1969)

Perception and Articulation Difficulties of Cairene Arabs Learning English Segmental Phonemes: An Exploratory Study (Moustafa, Margaret - May 1969)

The Interference of Cairo Colloquial Arabic Verb System with the English Verb System (Anwar, Mohamed Sami - May 1969)

Lexical Interference of Arabic in Learning English: An Analytical Study (Abaza, Salwa - May 1970)

Word Association Patterns of Arab Students Learning English as a Foreign Language (El-Shamy, Susan - May 1970)

A Study of Sentence Embedding in English by Native Arabic Speakers (Demming, Jan - September 1971)

An Experiment in the Use of Cloze Tests to Measure the English Language Proficiency of Non-Native Speakers (Abdelal, Phyllis - May 1972)
Symbolic Interactionism: An Alternative Basis for the Teaching of Second Languages (Kennedy, Audrey - May 1972)
The Effect of Speed of Utterance on Listening Comprehension for Second-Language Students (Wright, Daniel - May 1972)
A Description and Comparison of the Interrogative in English and Colloquial Egyptian Arabic (Girgis, Johan - December 1972)
Psychological Correlates of the American Sound System for Native and Non-Native Speakers of English (Soliman, Linda - May 1973)
Reactions of Egyptian Students to Five Language Varieties Encountered in Egypt (El-Dash, Linda Gentry - May 1973)
Evaluating the Oral Production Proficiency of Participants in an In-Service Teacher Training Program in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Nelson, John - May 1973)
An Investigation of Communicative Competence (Robinson, Kathryn - May 1973)

Appendix C

Titles of Research Projects Carried Out by TEFL M.A. Candidates at ELI, AUC during 1972-73

Word Association and Successful Communication (Samadi)
The Implications of G-T Grammar for the Construction of a Linguistic Theory of Translation (Sida)
Vocabulary Development in Egyptian Secondary Schools (Al-Musa, Duwaik)
English and Arabic Pluralization Rules of 6-Year and 8-Year Old Children (Youssef, El-Badri)
The Effectiveness of Audio-Visual Aids and Communication Practice on the Oral Production of Foreign Language Students (Milad)
Cultural Pluralism in TESOL: Theory and Practice (Clark)
Problems of Bilingual Education in English Language Schools in Egypt (Iskandar)
Transformational Generative Grammar: Implications for Second Language Teaching (Smadi)
An Annotated Bibliography on Improving the Writing Skill in Egyptian Secondary Schools (El-Gamal)

PROBLEMS OF COLLEGE LEVEL ENGLISH INSTRUCTION IN JAPAN AND EFFORTS OF THE KANSAI UNIVERSITY LANGUAGE LABORATORY PROGRAM TO DEAL WITH THEM*

Yasumitsu Akai**

In the first part of this report I am going to discuss the general problems of teaching English as one of the liberal arts subjects at the college level in Japan. The second part will deal with some of the challenges we have encountered at Kansai University in Osaka, Japan. (For the past seven years, I have been associated with the language laboratory of this university.)

PART I

As of 1973, there are about 900 colleges or universities in Japan including junior colleges.[1] Every undergraduate of a four year college or university is required to take four English courses during the first two academic years. (English is considered one of the liberal arts subjects, and junior college students are usually required to take only two English courses.) Students are expected to take two of the English courses in their first year and the remainder in their second year at college. Each course is usually given once a week, from 90 to 100 minutes a period. They will have approximately 25 to 30 periods in an academic year.

In Japan, college students are expected to have studied English in junior and senior high schools for 6 years before they enter college. So, in all, they should have studied English for at least 8 years before they graduate from a college or university. However, our college or university students have been severely criticized for their poor command of written or spoken English. They may be able to read some English articles or to write some simple sentences with the constant help of a dictionary, but most of them are not able to read an English newspaper or a magazine without a dictionary nor adequately follow a radio news program in English. It is regrettable that our students are so weak in their ability to comprehend and speak English. In reality they cannot carry on a simple everyday conversation, to say nothing of talking over the telephone in English. So the

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*This is the text of a talk given to the 370K class on November 28, 1973.

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A special word of thanks is due to all the TESL staff members at UCLA, especially to Dr. Clifford H. Prator and Dr. Thomas P. Gorman who went over my draft and gave me valuable suggestions. Without their generous arrangement and kind advice this article might not have seen the light of day. Likewise I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Mary O. Murphy and Dr. Jack Fujimoto who helped me in every possible way during my stay in Los Angeles.

business world that receives these college graduates often complains of their incompetence in the practical use of English. They must be retrained in English when they become employees in their companies. Only then are they able to conduct business utilizing the English language.

In 1955 the education department of the Japan Federation of Employers' Association (Nikkeiren) pointed out the inefficiency of teaching English in Japan and made public in educational circles a warning that an emphasis should be placed on teaching English for practical use.

Then why are the college graduates in general so poor in the practical use of English in spite of the fact that they have studied it for so many years? I am going to examine some of the reasons.

1. First of all I would like to point out the fact that the Japanese language belongs to the Ural-Altaic family of languages and is quite different from English, which belongs to the Indo-European family. The differences in structure between Japanese and English are exceedingly great. Moreover, the Occidental or the European cultural background underlying English is quite foreign to the unique Oriental cultural background of the Japanese language. Therefore it is no wonder that the Japanese people have many more difficulties learning English than do those whose language structure and cultural background are related to English.

2. Dr. E. V. Gatenby pointed out that, when students learn a language different from their mother tongue, urgent necessity for learning or motivation is of primary importance.[2] But Japanese students are far less motivated toward the learning of English than toward their mother tongue. In the countries which were once ruled by English-speaking people, English was an indispensable instrument or a second language to communicate well with their rulers. It was very important for those people to have a good command of English if they wanted to get along well with their rulers or to be able to absorb their culture. Even after their independence it was still useful and convenient for these people to use English as their second language in order to integrate people that spoke various vernaculars or different languages within the same country. Often,in many of these countries, courses in science and technology and much of higher education are usually given in English. So it can be said that the people are very much motivated to learn English. In Japan, however, no country has ever planted a colony, and people have never gone through any type of experience like that of the people in colonial countries. We do not have the urgent necessity to have a second language because in our country Japanese is a nation-wide common language. We have some regional dialects but they do not prevent us from communicating with one another. And generally higher education is also given in Japanese. Even the books in the highly advanced fields of study, such as science, are available in Japanese. In short, English is not a second language but a foreign language to Japanese students. So we can say they are not naturally motivated enough to involve themselves in the difficulties of learning English.

Again, Japan is located far from the countries where English is spoken. In some big cities in Japan we have some English-speaking people such as businessmen or tourists, but usually students have few opportunities for practicing or speaking English with them. The conditions for learning a foreign language in Japan are very disadvantageous compared with those of the countries where different languages are close together and speakers of different tongues live very close to one another.

3. I mentioned above that Japanese college students study English for eight years before they graduate grom a college or a university. However, let us assess the time these students actually spend in learning English.

According to the new Course of Study (Teachers' Guide for making up a teaching curriculum) given by the Ministry of Education, 105 hours a year are assigned to English studies in the junior and senior high schools in Japan. This means that students are expected to spend 630 hours learning English during their 6 years of high school. At the beginning of this report, I mentioned the time spent in learning English by Japanese college students. To put it in terms of hours, they are required to study English for a total of 180 hours as one of the liberal arts subjects. So together with the time spent in high school, they study English a total of 810 hours over 8 years. It may sound quite a long time, but this means that they study English only approximately 15 minutes a day. Considering the time in which we are exposed to our mother tongue, before we have a good command of it, we cannot rationally blame the Japanese students for their slow progress in learning English. Moreover, speaking and hearing drills in English are used very rarely at the college level, except for those students who are English majors.

4. Next is the problem of the so-called mass communication in education. After World War II, the Constitution of Japan was newly enacted and equal opportunities in education were guaranteed for all people. So the number of college students in Japan has been steadily increasing since then. There are now 10 times the number of a generation ago. In accordance with the growth of the students in number, many more colleges and universities have been founded or enlarged during these past 20 years. And it cannot be denied that the intellectual level of today's college students probably is not as high as that of pre-war students. Also the quality of the facilities and the staff have not necessarily caught up with the expansion of higher education. It is not uncommon for an English class in college to consist of nearly 100 students, and sometimes more than that number may be found. In such an enormous class, it is very difficult for a teacher to manage to drill his students. A teacher who is in charge of such a big class will have to spend 10 to 15 minutes just calling the roll. Thus the teacher usually reads the textbook aloud and translates the sentences one by one, occasionally giving grammatical explanations, without requesting his students to read or translate. The students, on the other hand, just sit and listen without uttering a single word of English during the class, often getting extremely bored. This often leads to the students losing their interest in English. As is often the case in Japan, their command of English being at its peak when they enrolled in college tends to regress as their school year advances and to reach the lowest level when they graduate from college. It sounds strange but this is a regrettable fact. In Japan, the entrance

examination to colleges or universities is very difficult. And high school students have to prepare for it frantically. Therefore, when successfully enrolled, they often tend to be quite exhausted and to lose keen interest in learning. Moreover, examinations in colleges or universities are not so strict compared with the entrance examination. It is considered that these facts lead to the regrettable situation I mentioned just now.

5. Teachers of English are responsible for their students' inability to understand and to speak in English. Among the college teachers of English, the so-called academicism is predominant. Some of the teachers say that the practice of Englisn in speaking and hearing or writing is not academic enough and that such training should be given on the high school level. They also insist that in college, when we teach English, emphasis should be placed mainly on reading, because most of the students will not have many opportunities to talk with English speaking people in the future, but they may have the opportunity to absorb more knowledge of the culture of the people from books written in English after they have graduated from a college or university.

To our great regret, we have very few native English speaking teachers in Japan. Most of the teachers of English are Japanese. And many of them have been educated in the way I mentioned just now, before they become teachers. I mean that they were not trained enough in hearing, speaking, and writing; their emphasis was on reading. (I am one of the victims.) So even college teachers of English are often not very good at speaking and comprehending the English language. When they begin to teach, they will follow the same method that they were taught in their student days. The general English education in college is usually given with reading and translation exercises or by the grammar-translation method or simply by the lecture method. So students in general cannot expect to receive audio-lingual training in English. The teacher may sometimes paraphrase some English words or sentences, but almost all the explanations are usually given in Japanese. Some of the students may be asked to read and translate some English sentences. But in a large class, consisting of nearly 100 students or often more than that, the number of students who are able to practice in that way is limited to a very small percentage. Almost all the students in such a large class merely sit and listen silently during the lesson. With this method, they cannot expect to improve their abilities in hearing and speaking of the English language. And there is another problem among the teachers of English in Japan. Dr. C. H. Prator once referred to the fact that the language courses are usually assigned to the youngest and most defenseless members of the staff...and most courses in literature are reserved for senior personnel and taught largely in the mother tongue of the students.[3] This is the case in Japan. Usually, well-experienced professors will take charge of teaching literature, and younger and less experienced staff will take charge of the language course as part of general education. And in many cases these junior members are specialists in literature, linguistics, or translation, but not specialists in teaching English as a foreign language. In Japan we have many colleges and universities which have a graduate division of English and American literature or linguistics but very few have departments concerned with teaching English as a foreign language. I am afraid that we cannot say we have done a good job in the field of teaching English on the college level so far.

And here is another problem. In Japan, promotion of each junior staff member in college usually depends upon how he distinguishes himself as a researcher or scholar, or as a specialist rather than how he distinguishes himself as a teacher. And there is no student organization or anything similar in the colleges or universities in Japan that evaluates or criticizes the teaching effectiveness of a faculty member as happens in the United States. So it is no wonder that junior staff members in college are inclined to be more oriented to making their scholarly research in their specialties rather than spending their energy studying or reflecting upon their teaching methods or classroom effectiveness.

6. As for the textbooks used in an English class as one of the liberal arts subjects, the teachers often seem to fail to take into consideration what textbooks motivate and interest their students. The teachers are inclined to choose the textbooks which they themselves are interested in rather than those that might interest their students. Some blame may go to the college administration, because in many cases the choice of textbooks is left to each individual teacher without any check or evaluation of the textbooks being made. So it happens more often than not that the students, for example the engineering majors who are not much interested in literature, may be given exclusively literary writings as their textbooks for the first two years in a general education course. We cannot blame them if they lose their interest in learning English under such circumstances.

The reasons mentioned above indicate why Japanese college students in general do not have a good command of English; they are especially poor in hearing and speaking English.

To meet the problems, ELEC, "The English Language Exploratory Committee" (later it was renamed "The English Language Education Council") was organized in 1956. And in 1962 college teachers of English who were worried about this dismal situation met together and founded a society called "The Japan Association of College English Teachers", acronymed as JACET.[4] In 1968, COLTD, "The Council on Language Teaching Development" was organized to support financially the retraining of English teachers and was involved in giving intensive audio-lingual training to college students and businessmen.

I am happy to say that now in Japan many teachers of English are facing the difficult problems in the field of teaching English very squarely and a number of potential solutions are being offered in various quarters.

PART II

In this part of the paper I would like to introduce some of the experiments which we are attempting at Kansai University, to solve such problems as I mentioned in the first part of this report.

In Kansai University, where I am a teacher of English, we have been making serious efforts toward the improvement of teaching conditions. They are as follows:

1. We are trying to make the size of each English class in general education as small as possible. (But in Japan at present it is not an easy affair because of financial difficulties, especially in the private colleges or universities which are obliged to depend mainly upon student tuition.) At this point in time, each English class in our university consists of approximately 40 students.

2. We are trying not to use a large room for teaching a language course. In a large room, with a seating capacity of 100 students or more, a teacher will have to use an amplifier. And in most cases, the acoustic effect is not adequate enough for language teaching. The teacher can reach his students using a microphone, but most students will have difficulty in responding orally to their teacher in a large room.

3. We are attempting to provide a personal tape-recorder for each teacher in charge of a language class. As Dr. W. M. Rivers mentioned, if the teacher is lacking a near-native articulation and intonation, he will be able to make up his deficiencies using a tape model.[5] He is expected to use it as much as possible in order to allow his students to listen to a native English-speaking person recorded on a tape. The tapes used in such a class are usually "text-reading" or something related to the contents of the language textbooks.

4. We are striving toward allocating a single seat to each student. He is requested to take the same seat all through the semester. A seating chart procured from the office before class is provided for each teacher. This saves time when the teacher calls the roll. Students are encouraged to attend class. The teacher will usually take attendance into consideration as part of the final grade in the class.

5. Every teacher is requested to evaluate carefully textbooks that will be most effective, useful, and interesting to the students. The selection of the textbook should take into consideration the students' individual academic major, since an English class consists of the students whose majors are the same.

6. We are interested in providing special facilities to support audio-lingual training in a language course. In 1967, Kansai University opened two language laboratories (plus another one for the night-course students on the other campus of our university), one special audio-visual education room, and one audio-room for listening practice.

(1) Each language laboratory has one master control room located in the rear of the laboratory, four large closed circuit VTRs (Video Tape Recorders), and sixty Sony ER-7DA tape-recorders installed in the sixty booths. They are of an open-reel type. A teacher and his assistant can monitor each student and give him instructions for

practice or exercise remote control over each booth from within the master-control room. Projectors for slides are also available, and 8mm or 16mm films can be projected when necessary. A general control room is located between the two laboratories. Two or three engineers are always stationed there during class. They are expected to check and keep the apparatus running effectively and they are ready to make repairs in case anything is out of order.

(2) In our special laboratory for audio-visual education (which is called the "Audio-visual Room" at our university), there are four TV sets which can also be used for video-tapes. Several 8mm and 16mm film projectors are ready for use at all times. This room has 138 seats and each one is equipped with a set of buttons for testing (five selection buttons with the digits 0, 1, 2, 3 and 4). These buttons are very convenient for multiple choice examination questions. The results of testing can be immediately shown to the teacher by way of an electronic computer system. This testing system is usually used for examining how well students in the class as a whole can understand a given question, but not as an individual test. According to the results of the test, a teacher can prepare or reconsider the teaching materials or the curriculum. The individual quiz is usually given in the lesson in the language laboratory.

(3) Our audio-room has 150 seats. Each one has 10 push buttons for channel selection. Students can select one of ten programs which are composed of various language courses. The programs include English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, and Chinese courses. As far as English is concerned, four kinds of programs are now open, from basic to the advanced level. The programs cover everyday conversation, English news on radio, dialogs from movies or dramas, stories and lectures or speeches. The room is available for the students from Monday to Saturday (we still have a six-day week in Japan). The programs on each channel are announced to the students beforehand so that they can prepare their textbooks or drill books. Each program is changed every week and students may listen to their programs anytime during the week when the laboratory is open, and as often as they desire.

7. At Kansai University, a course called 'English in LL' was opened seven years ago. It is specifically geared toward improving the hearing and speaking abilities of our students in the English language. It is an elective course. It can be taken by any student of our university, independently of his department or major, except for freshmen. (Incidentally, we have six departments in our university. These are: law, humanities, economics, commercial science, sociology, and engineering. Around 20,000 students are presently enrolled.) At present, 10 classes of 'English in LL' are open, scattered throughout the week from Monday to Saturday. Each class is managed according to the same procedure, with five teachers working in the program. Students can take any one of these courses at their convenience. But once registered, they cannot change the time period during that semester. Each course is given for 90 minutes once a week and

there are 25 to 30 periods in an academic year. (It is hoped that each period will be divided into two 45-minute periods and that students will attend class twice a week, because a 90-minute practice period in the language laboratory seems to be too exhausting for the students. But in Japan, in most colleges, the class time tables are generally given with 90-minute periods. This probably should be changed as soon as possible in our language laboratories. I shall try to do my best for the betterment of this situation when I go back to Japan.)

Here I would like to point out several advantages in using a language laboratory for audio-lingual practice. We fully understand that a language laboratory cannot take the place of well-qualified native teachers of the target language. But we have so much difficulty in finding them in Japan, that we cannot help making use of tapes which native speakers have recorded; these are used along with such visual aids as slides and films. However, they have their merit in their own way. Dr. W. M. Rivers has detailed the advantages of a language laboratory.[6] Here I would like to emphasize the following points specifically in my own way.

(1) Students will be given many opportunities to hear the voices of various natives in addition to the voice of their teacher who is in charge of the class.

(2) Every student can hear a given model under the same conditions irrespective of the location of his booth in the laboratory.

(3) Each student can record given models on his own tape and listen to them repeatedly as often as he desires after the class is over. He can also record his own voice while doing oral practice, so that he can hear it again and can objectively compare his own pronunciation with the model. (Students are requested to have their own tapes and, if possible, their personal tape recorders when they take a language laboratory lesson in our university. They are supposed to take their own tapes with them to the laboratory. So they can take their recorded tapes back home after class and listen as much as they desire. If they do not have their own tape recorders, they can use our Language Laboratory Tape Library. They are also encouraged to practice outside in addition to the regular class. If a student's tape recorder is not of an open-reel type but of a cassette type, he can ask a language laboratory staff member to duplicate his open reel tape on to his cassette tape at any time.

(4) Students are not idle during the class because they are monitored by the teacher or his assistant at all times in our laboratory. Our master control room is divided into two compartments which are connected mechanically to each other. And a teacher can take care of his students with his assistant from one of the compartments respectively. They try to talk in English with every student individually at least once in a period, even if it is only for a few minutes, using the monitoring mechanism. This greatly helps to alleviate depersonalization or human isolation in language laboratory teaching.

(5) Each student can be corrected individually by his instructor without interfering with the work of other students, as each booth is

mechanically independent. In this way the student will not feel embarrassed or ashamed when he is receiving correction.

(6) Slides or films as visual aids for audio-lingual practice, will enhance the learning situation of the students. Some of these audio-visual aids may vividly introduce the cultural background of the people who speak the target language.

Next I would like to tell you how we teach 'English in LL', and how we make the most of the advantageous teaching facilities in our university.

(1) We divide each type of oral practice into 10 to 15-minute periods and give each practice session variety so as not to bore students with the same kind of practice given for too long a period of time.

(2) We use visual aids (slides, films or video-tapes) as much as possible, so as to make the lesson colorful and full of variety. They may be very helpful in reducing boredom in the class. They also help to prevent an excessive number of students from dropping out of the course.

(3) Some kind of quiz is given every period to the students. It is marked, corrected, and returned to the student the following period. The general weak points of the quiz are then shown to the class. Re-enforcement practice will then be given if necessary.

(4) The attendance record of the students, along with the total of all the quizzes given during the semester, is to be taken into consideration in giving the final grade.

(5) We prepare a clinical chart and a check card for each student and also keep a record of his rate of learning. The student who has his practice monitored will be handed the check card on which comments are given when his teacher thinks it is necessary.

(6) In addition to 'English in LL' class taken once a week, students are requested to listen to one of the programs given in the 'Audio-room'. They are also encouraged to make use of the 'Tape Library' in addition to their regular class session. The tests to examine their self-progress are given periodically.

(7) To keep the equipment in good order all the time, two or three engineers are always ready to step in and repair any equipment that malfunctions.

(8) In the 'Audio-visual Education Office', in which teaching materials are stored and arranged, a full time clerk is in charge. Also several teachers and assistants are always available when students need help with their lessons.

(9) All the teachers who are in charge of 'English in LL' are supposed to meet at least once a week and exchange their opinions on the teaching materials, procedures, methods, classroom effectiveness, etc. We are proud of the cooperation of the staff in our language laboratory, because in Japan many college teachers often

appear like feudal lords who want to confine themselves in an "ivory tower" or a "castle" of their own research and reject any cooperation with other instructors.

Lastly I would like to talk about the progress the students have made by taking lessons in our language laboratory.

(1) Vivid progress can be seen when two discrimination tests of "minimal pair sounds" are compared; one given at the beginning of the academic year and the other at the end of it.

(2) At the beginning of the course, students have great difficulty in following speech which contains such features as "linking", "haplology", "contraction", "assimilation", "syllabic consonants", or "sandhi". But as the course progresses, they become familiar with them gradually. Most of the students who have been studying earnestly through the course can follow a general English conversation rather well, when it is not too specific or too complex.

(3) It is recognized, that because of these techniques students make a marked advance in learning to speak English on an everyday conversational level, though they are still far away from having a full command of it. They can manage to make themselves understood in English, though their English may often sound awkward. But since it is difficult to test their progress in this field objectively, we usually end up evaluating it subjectively.

(4) Many of the students who have gone through this course will be motivated, oriented, and interested in the audio-lingual side of English learning, and will be willing to listen to the English education programs on TV or radio, or listen to the language tapes in our Tape Library.

Admittedly, these are hopeful results, but they are far from our ideal or our ultimate expectation. We know there are still many things to be reformed and improved in the teaching of English in our university. But we are making serious efforts toward the betterment of our education in English. However, I sincerely hope that many well-qualified teachers from English-speaking countries will come to Japan and help us improve the English of our students.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Usually we have not a quarter system but a semester system in colleges or universities. (However, we do have a quarter system in junior and senior high schools.) The academic year consists of two semesters. It begins in April and ends at the end of February. The first semester is from April to the middle of September. Students have a two-month summer vacation in July and August. The second semester is from the end of September to the next February. There is also a 20-day winter holiday from the end of December to early January. Students have their final examinations at the end of each semester.

[2] E. V. Gatenby, "Conditions for Success in Language Learning," in Teaching English as a Second Language, H. B. Allen (ed.), p. 14, McGraw-Hill Book Inc., 1965.

[3] C. H. Prator, "Development of a Manipulation-Communication Scale," in Teaching English as a Second Language, H. B. Allen & R. N. Campbell (eds.), p. 140, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972.

[4] I am a member of the committee and was sent here by "The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science" upon the recommendation of JACET.

[5] W. M. Rivers, Teaching Foreign-Language Skills, p. 49, University of Chicago Press, 1972.

[6] Ibid., pp. 321-322.

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M.A. IN TESL THESES
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

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ABSTRACTS OF MATESL THESES

The Oral English Proficiency of Foreign Students at the University of California, Los Angeles

Harold Vincent Connolly
(Professor Earl Rand, Chairman)

In an attempt to answer the question "Can a rated oral interview predict a student's performance on the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE)?" the following procedures were followed. 1. One hundred forty two graduate and undergraduate students who took the fall, 1971, ESLPE were interviewed on tape. 2. Three raters independently evaluated the student's oral English performance on four criteria: pronunciation, grammar, fluency, and understanding. 3. Inter-rater scoring reliability was examined. 4. The scores for the parts of the ESLPE were intercorrelated and also correlated with the oral rating scores. 5. Regression analyses of the ESLPE scores with the three raters' scores on the four oral rating criteria were performed. 6. The influence of student's age, sex, and major field of study on their oral proficiency ratings and ESLPE scores was also analyzed.

Inter-rater scoring reliability was high. Total oral rating scores for separate and combined raters correlated significantly with total ESLPE scores. Regression analyses showed, of the four criteria, the rating scores for grammar best predicted performance on the ESLPE, followed by fluency, pronunciation, and understanding. Of the separate parts of the ESLPE, dictation correlated highest with oral rating scores.

Except for a significantly better performance by males than females on the cloze test sections of the ESLPE, student's age, sex, and major fields of study had no significant influence on their performances on the ESLPE or the oral ratings.

An Early Stage in the Acquisition of Spanish Morphology by a Group of English-Speaking Children

Marco Antonio Flores
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

Fifteen English-speaking children from the Culver City area have been immersed in a Spanish environment at Linwood Howe Elementary School for two years. During this time, the learners have not had any formal instruction in the foreign language. Instead, they have been taught the regular curriculum in the foreign language. The children were told from the very beginning that the teacher spoke no English at all; thus, they have to resort to Spanish in order to communicate with her and her Spanish-speaking aides.

Observational data collected by the experimenter shows the progress that the children have made during their second year (first grade) in the so-called Spanish Immersion Program. Utterances of up to eleven words allow them to communicate in a quite efficient manner. The learners' phonological, grammatical, and semantic development has reached a point that, I believe, could have never been attained through any formal approach. The morphological development, however, demonstrates lack of control of the agreement rules in Spanish: subject-verb, article-noun, and noun-adjective combinations, among others, suffer from constant fluctuation in the use of inflectional and conjugational markers. In spite of the errors in these areas, context provides, in general, the exact meaning of the children's foreign language speech.

The Semantic Interpretation of Infinitives and Gerunds as Sentential Complements

Nguyen Van So
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This thesis investigates the possibility of a semantic contrast between infinitive and gerund complements after those verbs in English which can take both forms; where such a contrast exists the thesis is also concerned with how to account for it. To test this contrast, an experiment was developed to examine the validity of the parameters proposed by linguists and grammarians for the differentiation of the two constructions.

The free-choice selection technique was used. For each verb with which a particular principle was tested, a pair of test sentences was constructed to embody the conditions most appropriate for activating any possible latent contrast between the Verb + Infinitive and the Verb + Gerund constructions. The purpose was to create for each verb two plausible contexts such that a preference for the infinitive could be predicted in one and a preference for the gerund in the other with reference to some particular principle.

The test was administered to 232 native speakers of American English. The results indicated that they did make a significant distinction between the infinitive and the gerund after "remember", "forget", "regret", "try", "sense", and "prefer". After the emotive verbs "hate", "love", "like", the aspectual verbs "begin", "start", or after "imagine", "report", the distinction was not as clear and well established. The evidence also suggested that when a semantic contrast was activated, it could be accounted for in terms of a distinction discussed by Bolinger: hypothesis or potentiality versus reification. Following this distinction, the infinitive refers to something projected, hypothetical, potential, or unfulfilled, whereas the gerund refers to something factual, concrete, real, or fulfilled.

Transformational Grammar and the Processing of Certain English Sentence Types

Howard Hugo Kleinmann
(Professor Andrew D. Cohen, Chairman)

The study investigated the effect that nine different English sentence types (i.e., kernel, passive, negative, yes-no question, negative question, negative passive, passive question, negative passive question, and who question) had on the ability of three groups of Ss to process them: native speakers of English, native speakers of Hebrew, and native speakers of other languages.

Each S was presented with 50 tape-recorded sentences, 10 kernel types and five of each of the other eight types. Each sentence was followed by a string of eight words belonging to each of the following categories: animal, clothing, food, furniture, parts of the head, time, vehicle, and weights and measures. The Ss were given a list of the categories and told they could refer to it during the test.

Each S was instructed that he was going to hear 50 sentences, one at a time, and that each sentence would be followed by a string of eight words. After each sentence plus eight-word string, he was to repeat the sentence verbatim and as many of the words as he could recall. The number of words recalled after each correctly recalled sentence was taken as a measure of the complexity of the sentence.

It was found that native speakers of English performed significantly better than either of the other two groups on each of the nine sentence types, indicating that nativeness in a language contributes to the ease with which certain sentence types can be processed in the language.

The result showing significantly fewer words recalled by native Hebrew speakers than other nonnative English speakers after negative, passive question, and negative passive sentences was explained by contrastive analysis (Levenston, 1970). Specifically, because the above English constructions are formed differently in Hebrew, native speakers of Hebrew had difficulty processing them in English.

When the nine sentence types were grouped into the categories active, passive, nonquestion, question, affirmative, and negative, it was found that for all three groups, passive, question and negative sentences were more difficult to process than their corresponding active, nonquestion, and affirmative counterparts.

This finding was consistent with the coding hypothesis which defines passives, questions, and negatives as syntactically more complex than actives, nonquestions, and affirmatives respectively. Furthermore, it offered empirical verification for introducing passives, questions, and negatives after their active, nonquestion, and affirmative counterparts in the teaching of English as a second language.

A Critical Study of Two English Texts Designed for French-Speaking African Students

Antoine Nteziryayo
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

The present study is predicated on the assumption that efficiency in foreign-language teaching is largely dependent upon the quality of materials used to teach it. An analysis is therefore being made of two English texts designed for beginning French-speaking African Students:

(1) "An English Course for French-Speakers (Book I)"
(2) "Passport to English (Book I)"

Much has been said and written about the teaching of English as a Second Language. So far, however, very little attention has been paid to the question of teaching English as a Third Language. The first chapter sketches out the major issues connected with the teaching and learning of English as a third language.

An examination of some of the implications of transformational grammar for the preparation of language-teaching materials follows with emphasis on the notion of "transformations" and their relevance to structural sequencing in a textbook.

The third chapter attempts to apply the implications of transformational grammar to the structure of "An English Course for French-Speakers" and to reorganize Cartledge's material by bringing scattered structures together in sequential units.

In its final chapter, this study focuses mainly on the principles of the situational approach and their pedagogical implications. An assessment is made of the value of grammatical sequencing in a textbook and of the part played by contrastive analysis in the construction of foreign language materials. A substantial part of the chapter is devoted to the treatment of the major pedagogical shortcomings of situationally-based materials as seen through "Passport to English".

English as a Second Language and the Open Classroom

Marcia Jane Harms
(Professor J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

Chapter 1 discusses some of the difficulties involved in defining an open classroom and describes several attempts that have been made at definition. Chapter 2 reviews some of the philosophical precedents of the open classroom and Chapter 3 looks at some of the historical precedents, with particular emphasis on the British infant schools as the inspiration for open classrooms in America. Finally, Chapter 4 examines the question of the relevance of open education for teachers of English as a second language.

Tense and Aspect of the English Verb

Terry Margaret Greeley
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

This study presents a synthesis of the research undertaken in order to provide the teacher of English as a Second Language with a working rationale for presenting the verb system of English. The study should serve as a foundation for further investigations of the English verb system for the purposes of ESL instruction.

The primary consideration has been tense and aspect. A detailed theoretical description is offered as a basis for defining the semantic correlates of the English tense system. By tense system it is meant those order relationships that can be signalled by the traditionally labeled tenses: i.e. Simple Present, Present Perfect, et cetera. With this theoretical description acting as a frame of reference, semantically descriptive statements are offered in regard to the facts of English usage.

In this study the term aspect refers to the progressive/non-progressive opposition in the English verb system. An understanding of this opposition is essential in the description of the semantic distinctions the system is capable of. In addition, basic classifications are offered for defining the lexical character of the verb.

It is sincerely hoped that the ESL teacher will find the study presented here a useful and informative resource.

An American English Pronunciation Course for Venezuelan Students

Ana Agustina Isea
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

The final product of this study is a series of pronunciation lessons specifically designed for "Ciclo Básico Común" (the first three levels of secondary school) students learning English in Venezuela. Prior to formulating the actual lessons, a contrastive analysis of the phonological systems of American English and Venezuelan Spanish was made, as well as an error analysis of tape recordings made by Venezuelan students taking a diagnostic pronunciation test. These analyses helped pinpoint those areas of American English pronunciation in which speakers of the Venezuelan variety of Spanish have the most difficulty.

The lesson materials utilize--as far as is possible--the vocabulary and grammar contained in the official curriculum established by the Venezuelan Ministry of Education. Also included are a few sample pictures to illustrate some of the words used in the lessons.

This pronunciation course is intended to help fill the need for materials for teaching pronunciation in the first three levels of secondary school in Venezuela. It could be integrated into the English teaching program in Venezuelan schools through the annual seminars at which teachers present their ideas and experiences concerning teaching materials, methods, techniques, etc. The lessons developed for the course could be used during the class periods set aside in the official curriculum for "trabajo oral".

Spelling Difficulties of Hebrew Speakers of English: An Error Analysis of Third Graders in Three Bilingual Schools

Henrietta Fay Bassan
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

The hypothesis of the present investigation is that children with a background in Hebrew, whether in speech alone or in reading and writing as well should experience interference from Hebrew when writing in English.

The data was collected from both Anglo and Israeli children at three bilingual (Hebrew-English) schools in Los Angeles. Most of the data collected over a period of five months consisted of the spelling tests, spelling sentences and creative writing assignments of twelve native Hebrew-speaking and fifty-five Anglo third graders.

Two lists were formed prior to classification of the errors made by the children. One contains sources of error predictable by interference from Hebrew (Levenston, 1970). The second list consists of common categories of Anglo errors of three hundred and sixteen children grades one through three (Schwab, 1971-72).

Errors in the various assignments were collected and analyzed for the following factors: ability of errors to be classified on the basis of common Anglo errors; ability of errors to be classified according to principles of Hebrew interference; and relative frequency of errors. Comparison was made between Anglos and native Hebrew speakers.

The English placement exams of eight foreign students from Israel were examined for errors explainable by Hebrew interference.

It was found that all errors by the Hebrew-speaking children could be easily classified according to the list of common Anglo errors, while only one-third could be accounted for according to the principles of Hebrew interference. A sampling of Anglo errors, however, could be accounted for to an even greater extent by the same principles of (hypothetical) Hebrew interference.

The general spelling ability of the native Hebrew speakers was found not to be significantly different from their Anglo peers. Errors related to Hebrew interference were distinctly uncommon in the work of the Israeli college entrants.

However, the exceptions to the general findings of no interference point up the potential benefit in providing the teacher with a brief list of the phonemes, punctuation and other elements which differ or do not exist in Hebrew. It is safe to conclude that while it may help the teacher to be aware of these differences, it is unnecessary to develop special materials for the student for the specific purpose of helping him learn those elements which do not exist in Hebrew.

An Investigation of Communicative Competence

Kathryn Jantsch Robinson
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

The focus of this investigation dealt with a testing project of communicative competence. The test was administered to two groups of subjects who differed significantly in terms of their performance on a standardized language proficiency test. The intent was to ascertain whether there is a discrepancy between the performance of second language learners on communication tasks and a language proficiency test. The subjects' results on the *Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency* (*MTELP*; a discrete point test of language proficiency) were correlated with three tasks of instrumental communicative competence. The correlational analyses indicated that there was no significant correlation between performance on the *MTELP* and the communicative competence tasks which emphasized encoding, rather than decoding abilities. There was, however, a significant correlation between the *MTELP* and the decoding task of communicative competence. The analyses of variance indicated that the encoding tasks of communicative competence failed to discriminate between the groups; the decoding task, however, did discriminate between the groups. These findings suggest the following conclusions: (1) The *MTELP* is primarily a test of linguistic competence and does not evaluate the other abilities which are involved in communicative competence (e.g., ability to be explicit, elaborate adequately, make inferences and to be sensitive to the demands of a communication situation); (2) the development of linguistic and communicative competence do not seem to necessarily parallel each other; and (3) the decoding process appears to be more closely associated with the discrete-point approach to language proficiency testing than is the encoding process.

Lecture Hall English: A Description and Implications for Material Preparation

Margaret Stuart Muench
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

The majority of foreign students at UCLA study engineering, science, or business. This study attempts to show that the language used to deliver lectures in these academic areas differs from the language used in social science lectures.

Twenty upper-division, under-graduate lectures were tape recorded on the UCLA campus during the spring and fall quarters of 1972. Eight lectures were from the area of science (engineering, chemistry, and biology), nine were from the area of social science (history, psychology, and political science), and three were from the area of business.

Fifteen minutes of each lecture were transcribed and the occurrence of various structures and expressions was analyzed. The verb phrase and the subordinate clause in the three lecture areas were analyzed in detail. A more general survey was made of relational expressions, expressions which introduce key ideas, colloquial, idiomatic, or specialized expressions, and expressions of sarcasm and other forms of humor.

It was found that the frequency of occurrence of many structures and expressions differed in the three lecture areas and sometimes differed from the language used in science textbooks as well.

A comparison was made between the structures and expressions which occurred most frequently in the lectures, and those which are presented in three current ESL textbooks for university students. In many cases, important structures were left out of the textbooks, or hidden in a list of other, less common structures. Suggestions for overcoming some of the deficiencies of these textbooks and planning supplementary exercises in lecture listening skills are presented.

Some Effects of Acoustic Information on Reading Comprehension

Mary Virginia Johnston
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairperson)

The reading comprehension of 68 non-native speakers was tested under four conditions of acoustic information: Treatment 1: no acoustic information; Treatment 2: information about stresses, provided by underlining stressed syllables; Treatment 3: information about pauses, provided by slashes in the text; and Treatment 4: total acoustic information, provided by a tape recording of the text. It was predicted that subjects' comprehension would be poorest on Treatment 1, and best on Treatment 4, with Treatments 2 and 3 falling in between. Reading comprehension questions centered around ways subjects might grammatically mis-structure the text. Questions were divided into eight grammatical types.

Treatment differences occurred, but they were not extensive; nor were they in the directions predicted. Treatments 3 and 4 seemed to interfere somewhat with reading comprehension. In Treatment 3, the slashes which marked pauses probably obscured the punctuation. Subjects did frequently mis-structure the grammar of the text. It appears that punctuation marks helped subjects to structure the text correctly, but that grammatical markers did not. It is recommended that students be taught to make better use of both punctuation and grammatical markers when they read. The experiment investigated the effects of acoustic information on reading comprehension only on a one-time basis. It is recommended that further work be done to investigate the cumulative effects of practice with such information.

Black Children's Comprehension of Standard English and Non-Standard English: A Comparison with Reading Scores

Stephanie Ruth Dailey
(Professor Bradford Arthur, Chairman)

During recent years there has been a great deal of research into the function and structure of Black English. Because this dialect is spoken by many Black children in the urban ghetto, and because there are notable differences in the level of educational achievement in the Black ghetto, many linguists and some psychologists have argued for the use of Black English as an instructional tool in the classroom. However, it remains to be proven that Black English as an instructional device is more effective or comprehensible to speakers of Black English than is Standard English.

Many of the dialect-oriented materials now in use in some of the schools are predicated on the assumptions that Black children are more likely to experience reading failure because of a linguistic barrier which exists between the language they speak and the language used in instructional materials. Yet, there has been no conclusive evidence attesting to the fact that Black children are less able to comprehend Standard English than speakers of Standard English. Neither has there been evidence uncovered which substantiates the assumption that reading failure in Black children has its basis in linguistic interference.

This study was undertaken to determine if the usage of Black English as an instrument of educational instruction would facilitate comprehension for Black children, and also sought to measure the relationship of BE competence with BE performance. The relationship of reading failure to BE performance was also examined in an effort to more precisely determine the presence or absence of a linguistic interference factor.

In an experiment undertaken to measure the relationship between linguistic proficiency and educational achievement, 28 Black third grade children were exposed to 2 stories presented aurally in Black English and Standard English, and were asked questions pertaining to the content of the material. The students also participated in a repetition task designed to measure their verbal proficiency with respect to Black English and Standard English. The results of the tasks were tabulated and correlated with reading scores.

In general it was found that there was no significant difference in the childrens reactions to the different dialects, and that dialect performance did not match dialect competence. In addition, it was discovered that the presence of dialect in speech was an indicator of reading achievement. Speakers using more dialect tended to be poorer readers than students using less Black English features.

Tense-Aspect Modality Systems in English and Kinyarwanda

Alexandre Kimenyi
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

The present study compares verb forms of English and Kinyarwanda which express event time, give information about the completion or non-completion of the event or the action and modify the main verb. The results show the similarities and the differences between the relevant verb forms in two languages and enable us to predict which aspects of English might be a learning problem for Kinyarwanda speakers.

Tunisian Arabic and French Phonological Interference with English as a Second Foreign Language: Stress and the Phoneme /h/

Salem Lazghab
(Professor Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

This study is aimed at determining whether the native language, Tunisian Arabic, and the first foreign language, French, of Tunisian students interfere with their learning of the phonological categories of a second foreign language, English.

One suprasegmental feature, stress, and one segmental feature, the phoneme /h/, were chosen for the investigation. Based on a contrastive analysis of stress and the phoneme /h/ in the three languages above, as well as on empirical observations, three hypotheses were posited as follows: a) It is likely that there will be interference from French in the stressing of the English words similar to French (cognates). b) Interference from Tunisian Arabic will most likely obtain in the stressing of basic English vocabulary words. c) No interference from French is expected in the pronunciation of the English /h/ sound.

A test comprised of four groups of English words: English/French cognates, basic English words, nonsense words, and English words containing the graphemic symbol h, was constructed. Each word was included in a sentence. The test was administered to forty-seven secondary-school students in Tunisia. Each student recorded all the sentences on tape. The data was analyzed statistically by means of t-tests for grouped data.

The main findings strongly support the hypotheses stated above ($p<.0005$, one-tailed test). There is also inferential evidence from the data that mispronunciation is not totally due to the native and the first-foreign language. Other factors, perhaps psychological, seem to contribute as well.

A Research Study in Vocabulary Learning: Literature, Experimentation, and ESL Lessons

Grant Halewood Henning
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

In order to determine whether second-language learners encode vocabulary in memory by families of associated meanings and/or interrelated sounds (acoustic and semantic encoding clusters), and to ascertain the correlation between these encoding parameters and language proficiency, seventy-five native and foreign students at UCLA were administered tests of STM vocabulary recognition and language proficiency. Fifty-nine of these Ss were selected about equally from among native speakers of English and each of the four proficiency-placement levels for foreign students studying English as a second language at UCLA. The remaining sixteen Ss were selected from among native speakers and students of the Persian language, to provide cross-validation for the study.

A sixty-item, STM vocabulary recognition test was designed to measure whether vocabulary recognition errors were more frequent when correct items were dispersed among groups of semantically related, acoustically related, or nonrelated words. Results indicated that both semantic and acoustic recognition errors were significantly more frequent than nonrelated errors ($p<0.01$). Significant positive correlations ($r = .612, .675$) were found between language proficiency and the percentage of semantic errors. Significant negative correlations ($r = -.573, -.675$) were found between language proficiency and the percentage of acoustic errors.

The conclusion was reached that second-language learners do encode vocabulary into acoustic and semantic memory clusters. Learners at a low-proficiency level appear to register vocabulary in memory more by sound similarities than by related meanings; whereas, high-proficiency learners appear to register vocabulary in memory more by associated meanings than by sound similarities.

The study includes a review of related literature and suggested lessons for teaching ESL vocabulary.

Evaluating the Oral-Production Proficiency of Participants in an In-Service Teacher-Training Program in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

John Edward Nelson
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

The Certification and In-Service Teacher-Training Institute (CITTI) is attempting to upgrade the qualification of teachers in elementary and preparatory schools in Jordan. CITTI trainees specializing in English follow a program designed to improve their proficiency in the language and their ability to teach it to Jordanian school children. This study is concerned with evaluating the CITTI trainees' acquisition of oral production skills in English.

For this purpose, three groups of subjects were tested: one consisting of CITTI English Specialists, a second composed of teachers having similar scholastic and professional backgrounds as the CITTI trainees but who were not participating in a language improvement program, and a third composed of full-time students specializing in English at Jordanian teacher-training colleges. The three groups were tested in October, 1972, to ascertain their relative standings and in April, 1973, to measure their relative improvement during the intervening period.

Two tests were developed for the testing dates. An objectively scored discriminate item test required the subjects to produce specific phoneme, word-stress and intonation problems. A subjectively scored test elicited spontaneous speech segments from the subjects which were evaluated by teams of native-speaking judges.

The CITTI trainees showed greater proficiency in oral-production skill than the other groups on both tests although neither test recorded measurable variation between the three groups at the two testing times. The objectively evaluated test produced significantly reliable results. This was not true of the subjectively scored test.

From the Back of the (Sylla)Bus: A Multicultural Approach to Teaching American Literature in the Secondary School

Donna Marie Montgomery
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

The California state-adopted American Literature text for high school use has, for too long, neglected the stories of certain groups of people who contributed to this country's beginnings, especially those of the minorities, i.e., the Blacks and the Indians. The purpose of this study has been to develop a course outline for the teaching of 17th Century American Literature--the "Colonial Time"--to include tales of and about these early Americans who helped form the character of our nation.

It is hoped that this course outline and the material, teaching suggestions and activities for students presented herein will find practical application in the classroom and will result in providing today's students with a more thoughtful and tolerant view of their country and all its people.

The material chosen for this outline has been considered only for its capacity to interest and relate to high school students and their life experiences now. The suggested material will not, of and by itself, relate to every student in every class, but with the enthusiasm and imagination of the individual teacher, such a goal may be possible for most students of American Literature.

Selection of Literature for the ESL Classroom--A Project Involving Student Evaluation

Belkis Fatma Bengur
(Professor Thomas Gorman, Chairman)

Recently, much thought has been given to the problems involved in literature selection for the ESL classroom. However, no one has attempted to ask the ESL student himself what he considers to be suitable reading matter. Also, until now, most writers on the subject have concentrated on linguistic or cultural barriers that the ESL student encounters whereas there are other considerations that are just as important to be kept in mind. This thesis attempts to clarify some of these other considerations through student evaluation of selected contemporary short stories. Twenty-nine students at UCLA in a course on An Introduction to Literature for Foreign Students (English 109J) were asked to evaluate a number of contemporary short stories and it is their reactions which have been commented on and developed in this thesis. The introductory chapter contains a commentary on some of the previous work done in the field; Chapter II deals with the short stories to which these students had favorable reactions; Chapter III deals with the stories on which they had unfavorable reactions; Chapter IV comments on the stories that elicited mixed reactions from the students; Chapter V attempts to correlate student biographical data with student enjoyment ratings for the stories; and finally, in the concluding chapter I attempt to set up tentative criteria for selection of ESL literature for classes of similar composition to that of the test group.

A Contrastive Analysis of Relativization in English and Japanese

Michiko Shintani
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This study consists of two parts: the former part is a contrastive analysis of relativization in English and Japanese, viewed from a purely linguistic point of view, and the second is an experimental test based on the contrastive analysis.

Although on the surface Japanese clausal modifiers lack relative pronouns, their underlying structure shares two similarities with English relative clauses. The Japanese clausal modifier and English relative clause are both derived from a sentence embedded into a head NP, and the identical noun exists in both the matrix and embedded sentence in English and Japanese. Differences on the surface level between the two languages are considered to be the result of different transformational processes. For example, Japanese relativization does not involve differentiation of the restrictive vs. non-restrictive uses, fronting and selecting of the relative pronoun, substitution of the relative adverb, modifier fronting, or deletion of Rel +BE which apply to English relativization depending on the particular case involved.

The experimental test conducted with 206 subjects in Japan revealed various interesting problems. As was expected the difference between the restrictive vs. non-restrictive usage is their weakest point and their scores for other items stood roughly between 50 - 70% of accuracy.

The Final chapter (conclusion) deals with a textbook evaluation (7 textbooks currently being used in Japan were examined) and general suggestions for English teachers as to how to teach English relative clauses based on the contrastive analysis, the experimental test, and the writer's own learning and teaching experience.

On the Representation of Second Languages in the Brain

Sylvia Ethel Maitre
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the representation of second languages in the brain. The means for measuring a learner's knowledge of a second language in relation to that of a native speaker have centered around standard proficiency and achievement tests that attempt to determine linguistic competence by judging performance factors, and are thereby incomplete by their very design.

In the study of hemispheric differences in the normal functioning brain, the dichotic listening technique has become established as a process for determining the degree of lateralization an individual possesses in regard to specific stimuli; it thus provides an independent measure of linguistic competence.

The procedure followed in this investigation was to first investigate the available literature concerning the neurology and neurophysiology of speech and language in first and second languages, the auditory processes involved in listening, and finally, past dichotic experiments to provide the necessary background for developing, executing and evaluating the dichotic experiment.

The results of the experiment on the representation of second languages tend to show that first and second language words are not lateralized to the same degree, and may involve a wider range of neural mechanisms than first and second language sentences which showed no significant difference in their degree of lateralization.

Based upon the literary research and the findings of the dichotic listening experiment, possible neurophysiological implications for English second language teaching were given.

The Acquisition of English Syntax by Three Spanish-Speaking Children

Denise Ina Young
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

In this study, an effort was made to ascertain the process of second language acquisition in a kindergarten classroom where no formal English instruction was given. In this classroom three children whose native language was Spanish were observed for a nine month period. The purpose of the thesis was to learn if and to what degree children at the age of five could learn a new language simply through exposure.

The principal means of acquiring data was through tape recordings made of visits twice each week to the school. The children wore a wireless microphone which allowed them to move freely while they were being recorded, and by which it was possible to obtain conversations between the children without an adult present. In addition, sessions with the investigator supplemented the above.

Three areas of syntax were analyzed in depth in order to assess syntactic development. These were negation, question formation, and the definite and indefinite articles. In addition, two other areas of language development were discussed: intentional speech repetition and non-verbal means of compensation for English language deficiencies.

It was found that both the two boys, Enrique and Juan, showed large gains in English language acquisition during the year. It was found, however, that interference from their native language caused the persistence of certain errors. The most important of these were: (1) the use of *no* in negation; (2) the use of double negatives; (3) declarative word order in questions; (4) a lack of inversion in questions and (5) non-use of tense marker 'do'. Perhaps formal English as a second language instruction in problem areas might have corrected some of these errorsearlier on in the language learning process.

Alma, the only girl studied, did not speak until May, eight months after the study began. There seem to have been several factors to account for this, including her shyness, her isolation as the only Spanish-speaking girl, and her fear of making mistakes. Very possibly, the "natural environment" approach to English used in the kindergarten classroom was not suitable for a child like her. Her experience illustrated the need to consider each child's personality when recommending a language learning environment. There is no one method for second language learning appropriate for all children.

A Study of ESL Reading Difficulties and Their Possible Effects on Academic Achievement

Clark Anthony McKinley
(Professor T. P. Gorman, Chairman)

The Nelson-Denny Reading Test was administered to 155 freshman students at Nairobi University in Kenya and 26 other non-native speakers of English at UCLA. The comprehension, vocabulary and reading rate subtest scores were correlated with the Nairobi subjects' final examination scores over three years. Furthermore, the comprehension subtest results were subjected to an error analysis to identify possible ESL reading difficulties. Finally, 75 of the subjects completed a questionnaire about their reading difficulties, and the reading performance of 26 Nairobi students who took a reading course was considered on the basis of pre- and post-testing of reading skills.

It was found that subjects' reading scores in vocabulary, and to a lesser extent comprehension, correlated significantly with scores in philosophy, literature and history. No correlation of significance was found for reading rate. The explicitness of content questioned in the reading passages appeared to have the most significant effect on comprehension scores, and to a lesser extent, the frequency of relatively difficult vocabulary. The effect of syntactical complexity on comprehension was unclear. Subjects indicated that vocabulary was a predominant deficiency and that they could benefit by special reading instruction. Such instruction given students at Nairobi appeared to result in significant improvement in reading test scores.

Testing Pronunciation Indirectly: An Experiment

Gari Louise Browning
(Professor J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

Adequate procedures for assessing oral proficiency of ESL students have not been developed. In spite of its weaknesses, the oral interview is still the most widely accepted means of testing speaking ability. A more objective test of oral proficiency is needed. One approach to this problem is testing oral skills indirectly through listening.

Two related studies, Villarreal (1969) and Weissberg (1971), experimented with an indirect measure of speaking ability which required ESL students to rate taped speech segments as native or non-native English. The present study also attempts to measure oral ability by having the student rate speech segments, but instead of using "native" and "non-native," he must rate only the pronunciation of the segments on an equal-appearing interval scale.

Thirty-six subjects (5 native-English speakers, 11 Spanish speakers, 10 Japanese speakers, and 10 mixed language speakers) rated 20 taped speaking and reading segments for pronunciation. This test was correlated with how expert judges had rated the 36 subjects on their reading pronunciation and speaking pronunciation. The correlations were as follows: accuracy-in-rating and speaking pronunciation, .50; accuracy-in-rating and reading pronunciation, .68. The correlation between accuracy-in-rating and reading pronunciation is nearly high enough to warrant testing pronunciation by the indirect method outlined in this study, and certainly demands some attention and further research.

A Report on the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program in its Third Year: Its Implications for Language and Subject Matter Acquisition, Language Use, and Attitudes

Susan M. Lebach
(Professor Andrew D. Cohen, Chairman)

In the fall of 1971, a Spanish Immersion Program was initiated at the Linwood Howe Elementary School in Culver City, California. At that time, a group of monolingual English speakers were taught the regular kindergarten curriculum entirely in Spanish. The original (Pilot) group which began the program in 1971 were in Grade 2 at the time of this study. There were Follow-Up groups at the kindergarten and first-grade levels.

This study focused on the Pilot group at the second-grade level and the Follow-Up group at the first-grade level. The major research questions examined were:

1. Are the students suffering a deficit in English oral and readking skills?
2. How are the students progressing in Spanish oral and reading skills?
3. Are the students achieving at grade level in a non-language subject matter, i.e., mathematics?
4. What are the attitudes of the participating students, teachers, and parents toward the Spanish Immersion Program?

The following instruments were administered for the purpose of evaluation:

1. The Inter-American Tests of Reading, Spanish and English versions.
2. The Bilingual Syntax Measure, English and Spanish versions.
3. The Cooperative Primary Test of Mathematics.
4. Student Interview Form.
5. Teacher Interview Form.
6. Parent Questionnaire.

The findings indicated:

1. The students were not suffering a deficit in English oral or reading skills.
2. The students were progressing satisfactorily in Spanish oral and reading skills.
3. The students were achieving at grade level in mathematics.
4. The students were developing positive attitudes toward the Spanish language and culture, and toward foreign language learning in general. Both the Immersion teachers and parents strongly supported the program and advocated its continuation.

A Model for Developing ESL Teaching Material on Syntax: First Year Intermediate English in Malaysia

William Wong
(Professor J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

This study demonstrates the steps involved in bringing present insights in language teaching to the classroom basing the model on the area of teaching English syntax at the first-year intermediate stage in a second-language situation in Malaysia. The study consists of (1) an analysis of the English-teaching situation in Malaysia, (2) a critical survey of current theories in the teaching of English as a second language, (3) a formulation of a set of principles for teaching syntax, (4) specifying a set of classroom procedures and (5) developing language-teaching materials to illustrate the approach. In the process, specific recommendations are developed in some detail for the Malaysian situation.

An Analytical Evaluation of the Lexicon of an ESL Textbook

Kenneth Niles McBride
(Professor Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

The evaluation focused on the lexical input and lexical presentation of the ESL textbook, A Course in Current English. The purpose of the investigation was to synthesize a wide range of criteria for ESL lexical analysis and to apply them to the textbook--currently undergoing revision.

New lexical items in the textbook were analyzed according to the following criteria: (i) word frequency, (ii) word class, (iii) thematic coverage, (iv) use of cognates, (v) extensiveness (i.e., word building potential), (vi) cultural intelligibility, (vii) entry rate of new lexical items, (viii) re-entry rate (i.e., repetition), and (ix) methods of lexical presentation.

The new lexical items were tabulated on work sheets to determine their relationship to the above criteria. A computer-processed concordance of all lexical items in four sample units was created to assist in the analysis.

The textbook evaluation revealed that the authors gave careful attention, in general, to the lexical principles of foreign language acquisition (e.g., gradual introduction of new lexical items).

Recommendations for the revision of the textbook's lexicon were suggested along with recommendations for further research.

Thai Difficulties in Using Some Selected English Prepositions

Phon Khampang
(Professor Evelyn R. Hatch, Chairman)

This study investigated three questions: 1) how similar or different are Thai and English prepositions of time and place; 2) do Thai students have greater difficulty learning English prepositions or are prepositions equally difficult for all students learning English as a second language; and 3) are certain prepositions more difficult than others depending on the students' first language. The prepositions investigated were at, by, for, from, in, on and to.

First, a contrastive analysis and a "translation" task provided information on how English and Thai prepositions differ. Second, a three-part test was constructed (subtest to whole-test r = .80 to .90; test reliability K & R 21 = .87). The test, after revisions for item difficulty and item discrimination, was administered to 169 Ss: 40 Thai, 48 Japanese, 38 Spanish, and 43 Other.

The analysis (ANOVA) showed no significant difference in the groups on total scores, all four groups had difficulty with English prepositions. Error analysis showed, however, that Japanese students had specific problems with 1 preposition item, Spanish with 5. There were no items that were specifically Thai problems. Rather, their problems with prepositions were shared by all groups. 10 items were difficult preposition problems for Thai speakers as well as for the other groups.

The results show that while English and Thai preposition systems contrast in many ways and predictions can be made based on these contrasts, error analysis was just as effective in showing problems Thai students have with English prepositions of time and place.

The Evolution of the Pachuco Language and Culture

Linda Fine Katz
(Professor J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

In this thesis, I attempt to provide an insight into the culture and "language" of the Batos-Locos (literally, "crazy guys") of the Chicano community, by means of an analysis of a historically older group of boys/men, the Pachucos. Who were the Pachucos? What was it they represented? Answers vary. To discern the truth of these and other questions in relation to the Batos-Locos of today was a primary goal of my study.

Of equal importance, was an investigation of the linguistic features, geographical sources and social functions of the Pachuco/Bato-Loco lexicon, termed caló. In addition, a comparison between the caló of the Pachucos with that of the Batos-Locos received major consideration and emphasis. In this regard, a list of one hundred and fifty-nine terms, chosen from among the earliest published studies of the caló, was submitted to each of thirteen informants who were asked for a definition as well as an approximation of the current use of each of the terms. The results were then collated and compiled into a dictionary listing which was then checked against a number of related lexical studies.

Finally, an original story written by an informant entitled "La Vida de un Bato-Loco" offers both an insight into the psychology of ayoung Bato-Loco as well as a number of caló terms not previously recorded in academic literature.

Argot of the Gambling Subculture

Marcus Lester Landsberg
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

The research problem of this thesis entailed compilation, definition and analysis of argot presently prevalent in the gambling subculture of the United States. Concentration exclusively upon general gambling terms as well as poker, craps, and horseracing argot items was necessitated by the enormity of the subject matter.

An argot item recognition questionnaire was constructed in order to ascertain the degree to which gambling argot has become incorporated into the store of knowledge garnered by the inner city student.

Argot items were collected from literature, area specialists, gamblers and personal experience. Several years of research in and around the gambling subculture yielded to me the vital contacts and background necessary to analyze their argot.

The research resulted in an up-to-date lexicon of nearly one thousand argot items from the gambling subculture. A second product of this thesis is the first analysis of the argot of the gambling world. And the third tangible offering of this work is the gambling argot recognition questionnaire.

The Pedagogical Use of the African Novel Written in English

Mohamed Osman Sanneh
(Professor T. P. Gorman, Chairman)

This study attempts to answer the questions why, how and what African authors or books could or should be used to enhance the English language and literature programs in the West African school systems. In attempting to answer these questions I have restricted my inquiry to the use of the African novel written in English as classroom material in a literature centered English program.

The first chapter comprises a brief geographical, historical and thematic survey of the African novel written in English. This is followed by a discussion of a selection of African novels written in English that I consider to be suitable for use in the classroom; and the criteria of my selection are content, readability and literary value. In the third chapter what I consider a representative novel, Achebe's No Longer at Ease, is subjected to critical analysis from the point of view of a teacher preparing to introduce it to a class of African ESL students. In chapter four Achebe's No Longer at Ease is again subjected to a methodological analysis answering the question: How do we present such a novel to a class of African ESL students? Finally, in chapter five I have, with specific reference to Achebe's No Longer at Ease and Hardy's The Mayor of Casterbridge, attempted to demonstrate the relationships between the African novel written in English and the tradition of the English novel as far as they affect the teaching of English through literature in the African classroom.

Communication Skills in the ESL Classroom

Nora Bonnie Kavner
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

In this investigation, a method of teaching language as communication was developed in order to encourage linguistic flexibility and situational sensitivity. Support for this approach was drawn from research on communication from four disciplines. This provided a means of relating material on communication from various social sciences to English as a second language. The information found made it possible to delineate four target components of communication, each representing an aspect of the communication process considered essential to the ESL student.

The four components represent the basic subdivisions of a developmental taxonomy of communication skills for use within the ESL classroom. For each skill area, a number of classroom activities were designed to motivate students to communicate. Each activity was explained fully, in terms of equipment, procedure, and recommended skill level. Projects, games, and group interactions were stressed for three reasons: 1) The activities are process oriented and can be expanded into complete units if desired, 2) The activities require active participation on the part of the student, and 3) The activities provide a great variety of communication events.

Problems in Translating a German Short Story into English: A Comparative/Contrastive Analysis

Christian Kurt Kurzdorfer
(Professor Thomas P. Gorman, Chairman)

This study investigates linguistic, cultural, and stylistic problems in translating from German into English. The purpose of the study is twofold: a) to find out what the specific problems of translation are in a particular text, and b) to obtain data from comparative/contrastive analysis that will be useful to students and teachers of foreign languages in general and of English and German in particular.

In chapter one, the problems connected with the translation of literature are explored and discussed in the light of relevant writings on the subject. The procedures of the present study are outlined: a) translation of a German short story into English; b) analysis of linguistic problems of translation; c) discussion of cultural contrasts; d) conclusions and application of translation in the teaching of foreign languages. Chapter one also contains a general introduction to principles of translation.

Chapter two is based on the comparative/contrastive analysis of linguistic problems encountered in connection with the translation of "Wer ist das Opfer von wem?", a short story by Eva Zeller. Separate sections deal with problems related to lexical items; idioms, figurative language, and turns of speech; slang, vulgarisms, and colloquialisms; grammar (with subsections on tense, mood, gender, number, sentence structure, punctuation, and other features); and "untranslatables." Each section contains a comprehensive inventory of examples culled from the text and listed in both languages, as well as a discussion of the difficulties related to the translation of the respective linguistic elements.

Cultural differences between German and American society are explained in chapter three. The analysis is restricted to those cultural features that are related to the short story under discussion and that can be expected to influence the foreign reader's understanding of it.

The concluding chapter is divided into two sections: a) the effects of translation on literature, a discussion based on a synthesis of data and insights gained from the study as a whole, and b) applications of translation in the teaching of foreign languages, an examination of the role of translation as a pedagogical device. In the appendix, the German original of the short story and its English translation are included in full.

It is stated in the conclusions that the effect of translated literature on the foreign reader is no longer the same as that of the original on the native reader. The reactions to translated literature tend to be different even though its impact as literature may be no less profound. Since connotations and affective meanings of verbal expressions are seldom if ever identical in two languages, they do not elicit identical responses and associations from speakers of different languages, whose cultural experiences differ. This is the main reason why translations do not succeed in conveying the same meanings as the original. However, it is possible to arrive at fully idiomatic translations which sound natural to a reader of the target language and which have not necessarily reduced the literary quality of the original work.

Second Language Acquisition in Children: a Study in Experimental Methods: Observation of Spontaneous Speech and Controlled Production Tests

Marilyn Sue Adams
(Professor Evelyn R. Hatch, Chairman)

This thesis deals with the linguistic development of ten native Spanish-speaking children in the process of acquiring English as their second language. It includes material collected during the kindergarten and first grade. The original purpose of the study was to describe how they acquired the AUX system in English and the variations involved in three different sentence types: negation, yes-no questions, and wh-questions. The AUX system is defined in the transformational framework as in Chomsky (1965) and in introductory texts such as Liles (1971). This information was to be gathered through observation of the Ss' spontaneous speech, assuming that their production would reflect their stages in language acquisition. As the research progressed, however, it became evident that under the conditions which the data had to be collected it was not possible to obtain enough free speech samples at frequent and regular intervals. As a result, the focus of the study shifted to experimentation with different means of data collection. The Berko test of English morphology (1958) and the Kernan and Blount test of Spanish morphology (1969) were given in the sixth month of the study. Berko's test proved more successful in drawing out the Ss' knowledge of inflectional affixes than did Kernan and Blount's Spanish version. An elicited imitation test, and a translation test from Spanish to English were administered in the nineteenth month to see if the data collected by either would reflect patterns in AUX usage similar to those observed in the Ss' free speech. The results on both tests corresponded very closely to those obtained through observation of spontaneous speech.

Songs for Intermediate ESL

Carol Anne Pomeroy
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

The use of songs in English as a second language (ESL) classes has been frequently overlooked. Hesitancy on the part of teachers to consider songs anything but a fun and games activity and not part of language learning has contributed to this neglect.

This study considers various ways of using songs in ESL classes, with particular focus on how they can help teach grammatical structures. A total of twenty songs were selected which are suitable for teaching to university and adult intermediate level ESL students. Copyright permission was obtained in order that the words could be included in the thesis. Teaching points, lesson plans, and discussion questions accompany the lyrics of each song.

During the Spring quarter, 1974, several of the songs were tested in ESL classes both at UCLA and at Santa Monica City College. The results were favorable.

An Investigation of the Responses of Some Non-Native Speakers of English to Four Humorous Short Stories

Aimai Boyce Knypstra
(Professor Thomas P. Gorman, Chairman)

Much research has been done on the responses of native speakers of English to literature, but there is little information currently available on the responses of non-native speakers to literature in English. Since humor is often thought to be culture-bound, this study was undertaken in the attempt to determine if cultural barriers or interferences could be isolated and shown to be factors that caused misunderstanding and misinterpretation of humorous literature in English by non-native speakers.

This study used four humorous short stories by American authors to elicit responses from 26 non-native speakers. Chapter I describes the procedures used; Chapter II provides critical analyses and interpretation of the stories, with particular reference to those areas of humor which were thought to be of especial difficulty for non-native speakers because of cultural differences between the authors and this group of readers; Chapter III examines the questionnaires used to elicit responses to the stories; Chapter IV analyzes the responses and presents conclusions about the hypotheses that were formulated in Chapter II; Chapter V presents suggestions to the ESL teacher regarding the selection, preparation, and presentation of materials for the non-native speaker, with particular reference to the four short stories used in this study.